INVISIBLE ENEMY

Israel, Politics, Media, and American Culture

Edward Abboud

VOX

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For those who hold firm to the views that define our ability as a nation to be who and what we say we are

Richard and Andrew, Paul, George, James, Donald, Alex

Special thanks to Radey, Stephen, Rebecca, Judy, Monica, Thomas, Nanci, Jack, Marvin, Avi, JoAnne, Toad.

Makes many good, easily validated points. Also make a bunch that are hard to prove. On the whole, he's correct.

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Preface

In his later book on American foreign policy, former Congressman Paul Findley wrote, "it is obvious that the acceptance of fallacies about Israel is not a happenstance. It is the handiwork of many people applying their energy to the task with perseverance and commitment." His attempt to clarify the enormous impact of U.S. foreign policy around the world is the single largest unreported and misreported product of American culture in the news and information services of commercial mass media. Drawing over half of the mind-boggling budget, public support for Israel reaches deeply into domestic projects as well.

Israel has a strong interest to control imagery related to itself, daily events, and direction of public trust and money. Not coincidentally, after years of attack, the churches of Europe find themselves increasingly empty, leaving alienated believers as prey for moral propaganda. Mass media uniformly present the same agenda when pretending to represent freedom of speech.

Most Americans endure long-term exposure to the mass media with resignation, increasingly aware of their inability to control the representations of themselves, their kids, communities, and concerns. Our-of-control media empires are not happenstance. They do not form randomly, but through an organization of forces with a specific intent to accomplish a larger social task. No feedback loop in the media exists to question policy in the same news forum. And media do not at all reflect society so much as they mimic, ridicule, caricaturize.

The ability to earn and control new billions of dollars each year from the American treasury, every year since 1967, is the controlled handiwork of many people, brutally forced into a totalitarian framework to create zealots and supporters, and to generate money. Perseverance and commitment to a specific idea by one's own will is trademark of zealots. They offer personal buy-in to the cause, and are little cost to persuade and use. Those not susceptible to the weak-mindedness of zealots must submit to "or else" coersion and control.

The effort to control American resources is a battle waged from practically every country in the world. Most remain in respectful diplomatic channels. None have anywhere near the impact of Israel's effort on a majority of decision-makers in Congress and in the media. In a recent display of ability to exert this control, Israel had all but two House members and 98 Senators sign a screeching "sense os the Congress" letter to the president, to show support for a clearly flawed Israeli ideology. Media reports the demonstration as a grassroots outpouring of support, rather than pointing out the coercion and control evident in the pseudo-event.

The United States has "prepositioned" military vehicles and equipment, even a large hospital, officially for use by U.S. Forces, at numerous sites in Israel, all part of the ongoing, untold cost of various "U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation" agreements.

Such cooperation may or may not enhance American security, may or may not be a prudent part of planning to defend the Oil Fields from the Arabs. The extent of U.S. involvement may or may not be known and understood by U.S. decision-makers and the Congress. But the reason for all the secrecy is clear: All around Israel the U.S. has newly built up an enormous and yet officially non-existent military presence.

Control of American media, however, is little understood outside of the western world, and has few connected and organized conspirators. No other efforts use tactics such as the "WASP intimidation" described by Richard Curtiss in Stealth PACs. No other efforts utilize the religious organizational infrastructure to inculcate foreign political ideals. No others train their adherents to put down American traditions in favor of foreign ones, and no others promote the ancient and modern grievances with so much vigor. Christianity, tired of turning the other cheek to the Jews taught to never forget, looks elsewhere for spirituality, political and social guidance, and comfort. They find manufactured images of who they are supposed to be and what they are supposed to believe.

1. Warfare in the Twentieth Century

> *The prescribed chant on the subject holds that Israel is a "reliable ally" of the United States, despite Israel's long record of double-dealing against this country, ranging from the killing of U.S. sailors to constant espionage and technology theft. The word "ally" implies that the relationship exists because it's in the interests of this country, though Israel's lobby is clearly devoted to the interests of Israel itself.*[1]

The miracle of the creation and flowering of the modern state of Israel in the twentieth century is celebrated throughout the world: in television dramas and documentaries, countless books, in elementary school history, university classes, newspaper accounts, everywhere. And everywhere the story is the same:

> Rising from the ashes of a holocaust of human tragedy suffered in the Second World War, the hardy Jewish spirit escaped to the desolate and deserted land between Egypt and the mountains of Lebanon to create a new nation, a state for homeless Jews the world over. There, through hard work and dedication, they created their new nation as spoken of in the Bible, made the deserts bloom, and gave world Jewry peace, a freedom and a relief from oppression that they had not experienced since the time of their biblically celebrated King David, some 2,500 years ago. The miracle has not been without its trials. Surrounded by backward, evil Arab tyrants, the new nation found itself constantly at war or on a war footing, constantly defending itself from annihilation at the hands of hateful enemies.

So much for the romantic imagery of Israel's heroic struggle. When stripped of rhetoric and Israeli nationalistic propaganda, and described

from the U.S. perspective instead, the summary reads differently, much differently:

> By 1975, a desperate Israel's need for U.S. support and the compounded drain of Israeli demands on the U.S. economy became recognized as a chronic international problem. But the activities of Israel did not stop with the capture of U.S. resources. The effort has been supported by a number of activities—wartime activities. A structured, organized, funded Israeli conspiracy exists against U.S. values and culture—a divide-and-conquer strategy to create dissension and alienate Americans from each other, and make them more vulnerable to propaganda, manipulation, and control, and less able to voice any uniform or organized opposition to Israel's demands.

Israeli agents operating in the United States have taken control of ethnic Jewish-American institutions. They have created an artificial separation between ethnic "Jewish Americans" who live in and readily display their primary allegiance to the United States, and those with co-opted allegiance who refer to themselves as "American Jews," their primary allegiance being to Israel. Within Jewish communities in almost every country of the world, there are Zionists and other sympathizers who render strong support for Israel's war effort. "Such contacts are carefully nurtured and serve as channels for information, deception, propaganda and other purposes. They also attempt to penetrate anti-Zionist elements in order to neutralize the opposition."[2]

Since 1978, Israel has successfully manipulated Congress for more than half the total U.S. military and economic aid distributed throughout the world. This aid has been given as nonrepayable grants, free of the U.S. supervision or earmarking that characterizes U.S. aid to every other country. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Israel's Washington lobbying group and overseer of pro-Israel activity in the United States, boasts that it tracks and exerts pressure on more than 2,500 bills in Congress, and that it will control congressional elections through 2008.

A succession of weak presidents has relinquished control of foreign policy decision-making power to the Israeli lobby, and has severely damaged U.S. credibility on all fronts, worldwide. Congress, from its famous "76 senators" declaration of allegiance to Israel, through the infamous Cranston Amendment, has lost the confidence of the electorate, as many surveys attest.

A huge cadre of propagandized American Jews has emerged in U.S. media to reinforce Israel's image and revenue stream. The cadre includes radio and television personalities; book, stage, and screenwriters and producers; newspaper syndicated columnists; and publishers. The largest media conglomerates in the United States that own radio and television stations, cable companies, publishing houses, and newspapers are now owned by Israel's supporters who take special care to obey and enhance Israeli war interests in the U.S. media. The messages of the U.S. media concerning Israel have become so completely uniform as to defy intellectual freedom, and enforce political correctness, from the media to universities and Congress.

The immediate problem that readers will have to consider and overcome concerns the thesis of this book. In the light of U.S. history since the end of World War II, and more specifically since 1948, the mere notion of Israel being an enemy of the United States seems ludicrous. There are no lines of opposing troops and no air, land, or sea battles in the classical military sense of war. Israel and the United States are not and have not been locked into combat over territory, as could easily be the case with respect to the Middle Eastern oilfields. Nor does a conflict appear over ideology and political control, as existed between the United States and the former Soviet Union for half a century. No trade embargo or political or economic sanctions of any kind exist between the countries or their respective allies. Quite the opposite is true: Israel often gets trading and financial support from the U.S. federal government at better terms that can be had by the states themselves. To claim that Israel is an enemy of the United States represents either a false claim, or one based on a clearer examination of the charge.

Understanding the Causes of War

The causes of war are both obvious and elusive. They are obvious in the sense that with hindsight, we can look into history and say, "yes, the reason that the war happened was..." and we grasp some of the conditions and reasons for the outbreak of a specific war. Current thought, however, points out that "...if we are honest, we must admit that as yet, we are incapable of measuring with precision more than a few variables which are thought to enter into war causation, and even less capable of evaluating accurately the qualitative or quantitative role of each."[3]

Historically, war hostilities precede formal declarations of war. The hostilities include such actions as the invasion of sovereign space, control of economic production or the sources of raw material output, espionage, propaganda, and other social actions meant to support treason or formation of alternate allegiances.

Control of resources is the main argument that causes wars. History is essentially written to follow one band of conquering hordes through the territory of another, collecting land, animals, trophies and slaves along the way. In the late twentieth century, politicians and philosophers liked to think that humankind had risen above this kind of conduct, yet most of our wars continue to be about control of resources.

To win a war, a major objective is to create and enhance information networks, while weakening or destroying the networks of your enemy. In this way, a military network overlays the opponent's social, political, and military networks with its own, infusing the enemies' institutions with ideas and actions beneficial to the conqueror. In ancient times, control of resources often included not only agricultural output or potential, but also the industrial resources necessary for the sustainment of further conquest and control: timber and hemp yards, metal-working facilities, weapons production facilities, strategic locations, and of course, any means necessary either to control, enslave, or destroy the human element indigenous to the resources. Today strategic resources include the control of information flow and content on radio, television, and networks. Wars have progressed from being mainly a bloody hand-to-hand event to theft that forces the defeated into economic

enslavement. Resource-driven wars are no longer attempts to remove the enemy, but instead to legitimize enslavement of the perceived enemy, and reduce or confiscate enemy resources. Since the underlying, driving force for war is still focus for social and religious discussion, those wishing to influence the course of a war must also take actions to monitor social and religious thinking.

U.S. media often portray the United States as being in the midst of war: trade wars; wars against crime, drugs, and poverty; shooting wars, such as those in Panama, Grenada, Vietnam, and Iraq. Additionally, there are growing indications that the United States is in the midst of a serious cultural war. The nonshooting wars are no less real and have no fewer psychological or emotional casualties than shooting wars.

Historical description often leads us to think of a war that technically or historically begins only at the first firing of a weapon against an opponent. The first shell is fired some time after the consternation, the disagreement, and the argument over resources. The scope of war has increased over time, but the process of the development of war, as a human activity, remains constant. Information defines the necessity, scope, and development of all activities leading to a soldier firing the first shot. We might conclude that by identifying and controlling the information that leads to war, we could control the occurrence of war. This is an information-based view of the war causation.

Von Clausewitz describes warfare as the continuation of diplomacy by other means. With this in mind, we can surmise that warfare has two meanings. In the first, it is military operations between opponents, and in the international sense, between countries. When two countries pit their armed forces against one another, we have no doubt that they are at war. Warfare is overt and manifest when military hostilities have broken out. Open military hostility is commonly recognized as the action of warfare. Warfare is also defined as activity undertaken by a political unit in the international arena—a nation—to weaken or destroy another nation economically and materially. War may also be the actions taken by one nation to gain control over the economic and material resources of another nation. Hostility manifests itself as antagonism, opposition, or resistance in thought or principle to a perceived enemy.

In effect, the relationship of these definitions shows that warfare can be manifest in overt, destructive actions, or covert actions. Resistance, the act of the civilian population to thwart enemy advances, is one of the primary targets that the attacker seeks to destroy during war. Psychological warfare is the term used to describe the objectives and tactics leading to the destruction of a nation's intellectual, moral, or emotional resistance to an enemy.

The advent of mass society and its mass media has created a new atmosphere and set of prerequisites for warfare. Cultural war does not emanate from the barrel of a gun, but rather from satellite transmissions and television studios, and the concentration of the ability to control information flow.

During the war in El Salvador, a typical week of movies in the capital city, San Salvador, included *Rapists of Virgin Girls, Absolute Diabolical Terror, Armed Response, Diabolical Gangs, Diabolical Nymphs, Girl Prisoners of War, Carnal Torture, Mercenaries of Hate, Squads that Kill*, and *Savage Dogs*. A *Mother Jones* article included this startling list next to a catalog of mutilated and tortured Salvadorians, indicating that the psychological warfare conspiracy to instill terror in the civilian population and to promote similar actions during the war were successful, and were dispensed from the mass media culture, not from the military per se.[4] Mainstream U.S. film productions, such as the movie "Natural Born Killers," are products of the major movie studios (Warner Brothers in this case, owned by Time Warner) shows nearly 100 killings in graphic detail. Popular music and canned laughter provide soundtracks for the gruesome killings. Throughout the movie, the viewers are subjected to subliminally horrific imagery designed to glorify, amplify, and magnify social deviancy while reducing the viewer's emotional sensitivity. The desensitization of the viewer places the actions on the screen within the realm of the viewer's acceptable, understandable actions.

The concept of psychological warfare is not new. During World War II, Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels proposed to cultivate a favorable attitude toward Germany among the masses in the Western Hemisphere, hoping thereby to exert a corresponding pressure on the U.S. government. The central task of the psychological warfare was

to develop sympathy for the Third Reich's foreign policy. German intensification of the psychological warfare campaign on the U.S. front included free news to German newspapers in the United States, free educational materials to schools, and special radio broadcasts, all coordinated and directed to instill in German-Americans the German "race" consciousness and a sense of allegiance to Hitler's Germany. When this kind of agitation is permitted to continue unchecked, it results in setting apart a large group of inhabitants of the affected country, inculcating them with the duty to render primary allegiance to a foreign power.[5] This same kind of psychological conditioning is used in Israel's manipulation of the Jewish community in the United States.

The sociopsychological techniques common to both propaganda and advertising are rooted in the art of persuasion. Advertising uses persuasion to promote interests in support of the national economy. Propaganda uses persuasion to support activities that are of no value to the national economy, but which support enemy interests instead. Education, inasmuch as it persuades, also promotes positive national interests. Education, which becomes a means of persuasion for ends that do not support national interests, is propaganda. Propaganda puts elements into the national (mass mediated) consciousness to remove benefits that would normally accrue to national interest.

The application of psychological warfare as a major component of conspiracy is discussed in greater detail in chapter 3, "Propaganda." For now, the point is to recognize that any continuing conspiracy to control the economic, social, and military resources and damage the political infrastructure of the United States is considered political and economic warfare.

Actions that Define the Conspiracy

In the next chapter, we will look at the elements of conspiracy that are telltale signs of warfare. What we have not yet considered is the question of when an international conspiracy is of such a magnitude that it should be considered an act of war, or when the continuance of international conspiracy constitutes social, psychological, or economic warfare.

In this book, we are looking at evidence that indicates a connection between a series of events at the international level that affect the

United States negatively and consistently, both in international actions, and at its corresponding events nationally and locally. Our first task is to identify the perceived actions of these conspiracies. This will not be easy, because from a strict historical perspective, Israeli military and political concerns have been affecting the foreign policy of the United States since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Truman's immediate acceptance of Israel in 1948 is often seen as a mass mediated act of pity for the suffering of World War II European Jewry. Huge contributions by Zionists to the Truman campaign of 1948 are seldom mentioned in historical accounts. The Jordan River canal crisis of 1953, in which Eisenhower suspended aid to Israel, and the Suez War of 1956, in which Eisenhower forced the secession of hostilities over the closing of the canal, were, in retrospect, the last effective uses of U.S. political and military power to curb Israeli aggression in the twentieth century.[6]

A more modern perspective of the invisible enemy must separate the social and psychological aftermath of World War II from the creation of the Israeli state. A date that consistently crops up in literature concerning the surge in Israeli influence on U.S. politics and decisions is 1967. This date coincides with the aftermath of concern for Israel in the American Jewish community after the Yom Kippur War. In that war, Israel greatly expanded its control of territories captured from Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, and was thus suddenly faced with a massive public relations problem: it had once again become an aggressor, its aims clearly expansionist, and it refused to abide by U.N. resolutions and withdraw. Noam Chomsky validated 1967 as a critical turning point in U.S.-Israeli relations as follows:

> Since 1967, discussion of these issues has been more difficult or impossible in the United States as a result of a remarkably effective campaign of vilification, abuse, and sometimes outright lying directed against those who dared to question received doctrine...Israeli intelligence apparently contributes to these efforts. According to a CIA study, one of its functions is to acquire "data for use in silencing anti-Israel factions in the West," along with "sabotage,

> paramilitary and psychological warfare projects, such as character assassination and black propaganda. ....[7]

> It is since 1967 that questioning of Israeli policies has largely been silenced, with effective use of the moral weapons of anti-Semitism and 'Jewish self-hatred.' Topics that were widely discussed and debated in Europe or in Israel itself were effectively removed from the agenda here, and a picture was established of Israel, its enemies and victims, and the US role in the region, that bore only a limited resemblance to reality.... While this may appear ludicrous given the evident facts, neither the effort nor minimalist degree of even-handedness will come as any surprise to students of twentieth century propaganda systems....[8]

Instead of recognizing and dealing with the phenomenon, U.S. supporters of Israel prefer to deny that it exists, and to protect the facts from scrutiny by defamation of those who are concerned with them. "The entire history of Zionism and later the state of Israel, particularly since 1967, is one of gradual shift towards the positions of those formerly regarded as right-wing extremists."[9]

Israel's bombing of the U.S.S. Liberty during the 1967 war and the enormous roar of silence from mainstream U.S. media are regarded by many as the signature indicator of Israel's control over U.S. media resources. A much more pronounced action transpired in 1984, with the passage of the Cranston Amendment to the United States Foreign Aid Bill, which had the following results.

Since 1985, all U.S. aid to Israel has been a grant, meaning that none of it has to be repaid. It stipulates that economic aid to Israel each year will be at least equal to its annual repayments (principal and interest) of its debt to the United States.[10] Congress approved the deal to allow Israel "to borrow money on better terms than are available to American states, counties or cities."[11] Former Rep. Paul Findley also makes the following set of associations that directly affect the ability of the United States to maintain its credibility abroad, and additionally, its ability to address ever-increasing pressing social problems at home:

> Since 1987 direct economic and military aid has annually totaled $3 billion or more. In addition, financial arrangements worked out solely for Israel bring the total to about $5 billion a year. This does not include such generous programs as the $10 billion loan guarantee granted Israel in 1992. U.S. law provides for the termination of all aid, economic and military, to any nation that develops nuclear weapons or "engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." For years the U.S. government has been aware of Israel's development of a nuclear arsenal and its persistent human rights violations. But no president or Congress has ever taken steps to terminate aid, as required by law, or even reduce it.[12]

Chomsky cites GAO studies that claim that the actual level of U.S. aid may be as much as 60 percent higher than the figures reported to Americans via the media. Additionally, he notes that when damaging information, such as the GAO study, becomes known, it mysteriously becomes unavailable for public consumption.[13] Given that probably 60 percent of funds are unaccounted for, such as funds hidden in military budgets, sales of Israel war bonds to pension funds, cities, and the like, the figure looks more like $9 billion.

Consider that in the period in question, 1967–1997, the level of social discord in the United States had risen to a clamorous pitch:

> ...There has been a 560 percent increase in violent crime; more than a 400 percent increase in illegitimate births; a quadrupling in divorce rates; a tripling of the percentage of children living in single-parent homes; more than a 200 percent increase in the teenage suicide rate; and a drop of almost 80 points in the SAT scores. Modern-day social pathologies, at lease great parts of them, have gotten worse.[14]

Domestic social projects suffered as well. In 1991 Congress voted to cut the cost of living adjustments for federal retirees under the age of

62, in order to save $2.7 billion. The National Science Foundation, an agency whose work can give significant competitive advantage to U.S. businesses in the emerging global economy, operated on an annual budget of $3 billion. The Department of Commerce, strapped for the funds to do its job correctly, operated on a budget of $3.3 billion. The annual budget in 1991 for the entire Environmental Protection Agency was $5.8 billion. Congress, in its largesse toward Israel, seemed to hold in lower priority these programs, judging from their budgets: community development block grants ($4 billion), mass transit ($3.5 billion), clean water construction ($2.6 billion), and employment and training nationwide ($4.2 billion).

Consider Findley and Chomsky aid figures to Israel for 1991 in relation to the following annual budgets for federal agencies. When aid to Israel totaled more than $9.00 billion, the budget for the Department of Justice was $8.20 billion, for the Department of the Interior $6.09 billion, the Environmental Protection Agency $5.76 billion, and Small Business Administration $613 million.[15] Aid to Israel in 1993, realistically estimated at about 170 percent of the officially reported figure, was approximately equal to the combined annual budgets of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration ($13.8 billion) and the Department of the Interior ($6.097 billion), and rivals the budgets of the Department of Education ($25.3 billion), the Department of Housing and Urban Development ($22.75 billion), and the Department of Transportation ($30.5 billion).[16] American programs serviced 240 million people; Israeli aid enriched less than 4 million foreigners in one country.

The direct negative impact to Americans of this overly generous aid to Israel is evident: tax money flows out of the country and is of no benefit to the welfare of the people who earned it. The money does not contribute to the support of education for American children. It cannot be used to make the streets safer, or to repair bridges. It cannot be used to protect our borders from massive influxes of cocaine, or from illegal immigrants. The amount of aid given to Israel in only two years would pay for complete subway systems in two major U.S. cities. It would practically double the budget of the Department of Education, affording to give teachers the pay raises they deserve. It

could clear the streets of homeless people by providing shelter and training for them:

> From 1980 to 1990, we reduced job programs in our urban areas and towns from $8.4 billion to $3.5 billion. Mass transit funds were reduced from $5.4 billion to $2.9 billion. Overall, federal assistance to key community programs dropped from $23.7 billion in 1980 to $13 billion in 1991. [17]

Major national social projects could be carried out with funds of this magnitude. Why have we suddenly found ourselves giving lower priority to our own national well-being than to Israel's? If we look at the last presidential cabinet of the twentieth century, we see some possible reasons. The Clinton national security team includes political advisor Rahm Emanuel, a former volunteer in the Israeli army. Clinton chose Martin Indyk, an Australian Zionist whose naturalization as a U.S. citizen had to be accelerated, as the White House Middle East Advisor. Was the president unable to find an American suitable for the task?

Brooklyn Congressman and FOI (as "friends of Israel" are called in Washington national politics) Stephen S. Solarz, who was nominated for ambassador to India, wrote the third largest number of bad checks in the 1991 House of Representatives banking scandal. In a 1973 letter to his constituents entitled "Delivering for Israel," he explained that he took an assignment to the House Foreign Affairs Committee "to better serve the needs of Israel." The letter detailed how he intervened with then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to win for Israel a considerably higher foreign aid appropriation.

We are in the midst of a kind of "foreign entanglement" that George Washington ominously warned about in his farewell address. History repeatedly shows that powerful countries and influential citizens are not beyond coercion, bribery, and self-aggrandizement at any cost. The affliction is a scourge on the powerful, from statesmen to merchants to popes (as ninth and tenth century history of the papacy notes).[18] The citizens to whom we turn our attention are called by various titles, but those with direct bearing on the U.S. political process who make

the huge transfer of funds possible are members of Congress. What grip does the Israeli conspiracy have on the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate that enables the wholesale manipulation of American values? Let's look at these institutions for a moment.

Historically, members of the House of Representatives and the Senate have been elected by voters in the districts that the members intend to represent. They were—historically, mind you—men and women who went to Washington to address the concerns of their constituents. They sought to uphold traditional family values, community standards, and the well-being and growth of their communities, as well as the image and integrity of the United States in the world community. All that has changed, as the great voter apathy clearly demonstrates. What happened?

Political action committees (PACs) happened. Media imagery happened. Voters no longer saw the campaigners from the platforms of auditoriums or the flatbed cars of whistle-stop trains on the campaign circuit. They no longer heard the entire, organized speeches of candidates outlining well-defined agendas for the common good. Voters today seldom even know what their elected officials do in office, what bills they are for or against, or the agendas they support.

Politicians have lost touch with the voters in order to get in touch with the real kingmakers: the media. Today, a politician's or campaigner's hour-long speech is reduced to thirty-second sound bites especially cut and pasted together for television. It therefore behooves the aspiring candidate to raise the money necessary during a campaign cycle to get his or her face in front of the voter by using the most powerful persuasive tool ever invented: the national television broadcasting network. National television advertising is very expensive. Fully 80 percent of a major political candidate's campaign war chest goes to paying for television commercials that cost from $50,000 to hundreds of thousands of dollars per minute. The money comes primarily from PACs, organizations that raise money for the benefit of a chosen candidate or political position.

The explosive expansion of network television as a political tool closely

parallels the growth of the PAC phenomenon. PACs quickly spooled up to critical mass and took on a life of their own. They did not rely solely upon the contributions of voters within the political district of the candidate, but acted instead as mechanisms by which special interests could control the aspirations of candidates in any district. A candidate wishing to receive PAC funds from, say, the American Medical Association or the National Board of Realtors is expected to act out a special concern for those organizations as a return favor. The gradual distortion of the democratic process through PAC funding, with money crossing political boundaries to influence elections, became recognized as a national political problem. Legislation has since been considered that would limit the influence of PACs. The battle to regain political control of elected representatives, however, still has a long way to go.

AIPAC coordinates the collection and distribution of funds from more than 100 PACs, and in return favors, has achieved some startling results.[19] Consider these political events:

- In January 1990, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas proposed to the Senate that 5 percent of the foreign aid to the five largest U.S. aid recipients be shifted to other purposes. No fewer than 73 senators signed a letter to the president stating their opposition to shifting funds from Israel and Egypt, by far the top two recipients.
- Senator Robert Byrd offered an amendment to the fiscal year (FY) 1991 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill (HR 5114) that reiterated U.S. support for U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 339, stating also that Israeli settlement activities were contrary to these international resolutions. Senator Kasten countered with a motion to kill the amendment, and 90 senators approved the Kasten motion.[20]
- Senator Kasten drew up a bill that authorized a drawdown of $700 million in U.S. military equipment to be provided to Israel. Senator Byrd then proposed an amendment to remove the Kasten amendment, and his attempt failed by a no vote of 97 senators.
- A 1991 letter, signed by 79 senators, was addressed to the Israeli

ambassador, assuring him of the commitment by the signatories to maintain Israel's military strength.

These are but a few of the numerous instances in which the members of the Senate have, without quibbling or filibuster, allocated enormous funds and measures of military and international political support to Israel. In contrast, the Senate agonized for months over a crime bill that would cost $30 billion over 5 years or about $6 billion annually. The Senate, when looking for areas where the budget could be trimmed to bring down the national debt, looked first at social security benefits, Medicare, Medicaid, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, Head Start, and virtually every other federal program of obvious social benefit. Not once did they look at the huge foreign aid outlays to Israel. If you wonder why this is so, look at the number of senators who received campaign funding aid from Israeli-controlled PACs. The 1993 Senate voting record for measures affecting Israel shows that of 100 senators, 11 cast votes in line with AIPAC 100 percent of the time, 33 senators voted the AIPAC line at least 80 percent of the time, and 27 voted the AIPAC line at least 66 percent of the time. Seventy-one senators could always be counted on to vote for money for Israel. No other American organization or lobby has that many advocates in the Senate.[21]

In the 1994 election cycle, fifteen senatorial candidates were voted into office who received a reported total of $477,100 from Israeli PACs. The money, for the most part, was used to prepare mudslinging commercials about opponents. The violation of federal election laws by these senators and by the Israeli lobby is clear, but what is even more evident is the overall degradation of the voting process, and the credibility of those who have, in effect, bought their offices and subordinated the concerns of the electorate to foreign intrigue.

Israel's war against the United States, with its grip on U.S. foreign policy, and media control to promote a sympathetic social agenda, represents beyond a doubt the most serious threat to U.S. democratic institutions, freedom, and society since the Civil War. The duration and scope of Israel's influence, and the intended effects of the effort, clearly fall within the definition and scope of warfare. Israel's war against the United States is the first international war to be waged on

U.S. soil against U.S. citizens. It is a war where only the correct opinion is taught or spoken, and where contrary opinions face reprisal. It continues to drain U.S. resources from constructive domestic social projects, and to confound the actions of Congress and most congressional members.

The marked tendency in U.S. mainstream media to label criticism of U.S. policy toward Israel as anti-Semitic is a signature characteristic of the wartime propaganda effort. The wild-eyed, virulent slander of widely syndicated journalists attempts to redefine and discredit criticism of Israel by labeling it as just another "Jewish conspiracy" theory. It is important, therefore, that we make a distinction between "Jewish conspiracy" as it has historically been described, and Israel's conspiracy against the United States. The major difference is that Jewish conspiracy focuses on perceptions of the actions of a people, while Israel's conspiracy centers on perceptions of the actions of a nation. Israel has become an invisible enemy.

Examples of Jewish conspiracy theories are historically evident. Earlier in this century, Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* accused the Jews of "conspiring to 'frivolize' the minds and tastes of the people by intoxicating them with changing styles and fashions and by enticing them to buy vain luxuries."[22] The supposed motive of this conspiracy was the accumulation of money, and greed. In the *Protocol of the Elders of Zion*, an elaborate story was told of how "the Jews" were plotting to take over the world. This legendary document of the Csarist secret police described how a group of Jewish leaders supposedly concocted a conspiracy to conquer the world. Note that in these "Jewish conspiracies," the antagonists were assumed to be Jews, unequivocally, and their purpose to be malevolent, whether ultimate conquest of the world or "frivolization" of the minds of people. The ends assigned to these conspiracies were for the sake of making money, or for the sake of Jewish power.

The single great fallacy in these conspiracies is the assumption that all Jews act in accordance with these ideas, and are of similar intellectual and motivational bent. The charges in themselves are racist at face value, but point to a core fear by those creating the conspiracy theories: that Jews the world over are only out for themselves, and only help

themselves. So the motivation to construct Jewish conspiracies is one of fear, and the actual intent determined to be the ultimate result of the conspiracies is of total control of society and humanity. In other words, the supposed intents of the purely "Jewish" conspiracies break down into common demagogic assumptions without supporting evidence.

When we talk about the United States as a target for Israeli conspiracy, however, we are in an entirely different frame of reference. Rather than claiming conspiracy based on oversimplified fear of a group of people scattered across the globe, and a hysterical charge stemming from racist fears, we are instead clearly in the realm of one sovereign nation against another. The purposes and intents of Israel's conspiracies become much clearer. Israel, a desperate nation suffering from wild inflation and economic, political, and military war with all its neighbors, must be able to control resources that are beyond its means to generate if it wishes to maintain a path of progress in the family of nations.

The main problem that Israel faces, and the main reason for its need to conspire against the United States, is that its current path of progress in the family of nations is condemned by most nations, and specifically condemned in principle through the tenets of freedom held by the United States and the United Nations. Israel was born in an uncivilized manner, has expanded through brutality and warfare, and as of this writing, shows no signs of changing its approach to try to become a civilized state in the family of nations. The lack of genuine support by all of its neighbors, as well as by other countries in a position to lend assistance, is a direct reflection on the mentality reflected by the leaders of the state of Israel, its aspirations, and the methods it uses to support its aims. Most industrial countries in the world have indicated their willingness to help Israel to achieve peace and a rightful place among nations. Only the United States, through the machinations and victories of Israel's war effort, continues to help Israel prepare for war and the historically concomitant results of expansion and subjugation of other peoples. Israel is and continues to be a rogue nation, placing itself above the dictates of international law and respect for the dignity of man.

The enemy's intent is to ensure unequivocal, continuing support from the United States for all Israeli actions and needs. In support of this goal, Israel attempts to organize human resources, to unify intent

through mass media emotional appeals and misinformation, and to decrease opposition to intent of the conspiracy by attacking social cohesion and values and the persons and institutions it perceives as enemies.

Religion has long been recognized as an ideal preorganizational state for the introduction of wartime propaganda. While it is unfortunate that the political state of Israel is attempting to achieve its goals in part by perversion the tenets of religious Judaism, we should not overlook the fact that *all religions* are predisposed to the subversion of their beliefs. The methods and anticipated results of the subversion of religion are covered more thoroughly in chapter 7, "Religious Wars and Ancient Hatreds."

The ability to take resources without killing the enemy is usually easier and cheaper to accomplish than total destruction and occupation. Enslaving the enemy by taxing national financial capital (economic warfare) is the preferred method of controlling resources in the late 20th century. Human resources are categorized as the social, institutional (political and military), professional, religious, ethnic and racial relationships that bond humans into productive relationships.

Arguments for control of the press that spilled into the dawning of the previous century were largely business wars, financial wars, and wars for control of resources. The late twentieth century saw struggles for control of the new electronic means of communication, from radio, film and television through the centralized, networked, satellite-to-earth–linked, downloadable, real time information. Only the aggressor has changed.

So while it appears in the media that Americans and Israelis are good buddies, nothing could be further from the truth. A major international war conspiracy supports a propaganda war, launched and sustained in the media and orchestrated from Israel, to support their war of conquest in the Holy Land.

First, a look at conspiracy.

[1] Israeli columnist Ari Shavit claims "...the White House, the Senate and much of the American media is in our (Israel's) hands..." (Sobran 1996).

[2] O'Brien 1986.

[3] Carroll and.Fink (1973), quoted from Nettleship, Dalegivens, and Nettleship (1973, p. 56).

[4] Carlisle 1989, p. 5. The author cites *Mother Jones* (April 1989).

[5] Burlingham 1938, p. vi.

[6] See Green 1988b for more information on the subject.

[7] Chomsky 1983, p. 11, footnote.

[8] Chomsky 1983, p. 29.

[9] Chomsky 1983, p. 456.

[10] Findley 1993, p. 113.

[11] Moses 1992, pp. 30–31.

[12] Findley 1993, p. 110.

[13] Chomsky,1983, pp. 10–12.

[14] William J. Bennett 1993, p. i.

[15] Moses 1992, p. 30, and Ball and Ball 1992.

[16] Moses 1992, p. 30, and Ball and Ball 1992.

[17] Moses 1992, p. 30, and Ball and Ball 1992.

[18] Chamberlin 1993. References throughout.

[19] Curtiss 1990. Articles cited from the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, a magazine published monthly by the American Educational Trust, Washington, D.C., include Kaplan 1994, Kellum 1994, and Moses 1992.

[20] Kellum 1994, pp. 18–20.

[21] Kellum 1994, pp. 18–20.

[22] Davis 1971.

2. The Organization of Intent

"Just because I'm paranoid doesn't mean they're not after me."

In September of 1989, Federal officials announced an unusual list of international conspiracy indictments against a group called the Confederate Hammerskins. The Hammerskins commanded sudden, nationwide media attention, reportedly because of their white supremacist philosophy. Widely condemned by all of the reporting media[1] everywhere in the country, the Hammerskins symbolized American concern for the war on racism. Unknown to Americans until the sudden, widespread, and prolonged media attention given to them, the mass-mediated nature of the Hammerskins sudden statement in the national agenda is in itself suspicious.

In June of 1993, television network news reported that an Egyptian national was arrested in New York City, and held under suspicion for conspiracy to bomb U.S. civilian targets. We expect as much from our Arab terrorists, and understand their irrational desire to ignite an Islamic *jihad*. The wild, sensational conspiracy supposedly concocted by the blind Sheikh made national headlines.

The movie *JFK* claimed that the John F. Kennedy assassination was the result of a conspiracy, not solely the act of Lee Harvey Oswald.[2] The movie overwhelms viewers with suggestions of mishandled evidence, ineptitude, and cover-up on the part of investigators, even insinuating guilt where none has otherwise been found. A compilation of news clippings, speculations, little-known facts, and a combination of supported and unsupported assertions mixed into a titillating conspiratorial docu-drama lead the viewer to conclude that the assassination *was* a conspiracy. Was Oswald the lone nut on a personal crusade, or was he the only publicly known player in a larger, perhaps internationally organized plot?

Conspiracy theories raise interesting questions, but what exactly is a conspiracy? What are its defining characteristics? When should we believe them as reality and truth, and how and why? Does the rambling

of an Egyptian cleric in New York or a movie producer in Hollywood uncover a conspiracy or merely create more conspiracy theories? What criteria can be applied in the attempt to determine when a conspiracy theory crosses the threshold from inane ramblings to realistic forensic inquiry worthy of serious attention? What results can conspirators expect to achieve for their effort?

History of Conspiracy

In the United States, conspiracy theories are intensified or dismissed according to the whims of the mainstream media, and are depicted for the most part as the "self-justifying delusions of the disenfranchised." To suspect conspiracy in any endeavor is to lack evidence in an ill-defined situation. It carries a stigma akin to believing in science fiction. The paranoid conspiracy theory is recognized not only by the absence of a verifiable chain of facts, but also by a curious leap in imagination or logic that is always made at some critical point in the recital of events. (Verifiability is discussed in detail in chapter 4, "The Media." It is closely related to believability, credibility, and reliability of the news source and channels.)

The roots of conspiracy go back beyond the written and oral traditions of humankind, through political intrigues of the Roman and Greek cultures, and even beyond, into the hoary antiquity of the history of thought. Regular companions to bureaucracy and discontent, conspiracies loomed large in government structures and in the early Christian churches. Evil conspiracies of the devil were depicted at the courts of sixth century popes and through the Renaissance, where a pantheon of evil images were assigned every known human vice.

The politics of conspiracy and intrigue raged during the Napoleonic Wars. Alliances shifted according to the needs of feudal lords in various kingdoms. By 1775, the British government was aware of the existence of a conspiracy in the American colonies to break away from the empire and form a separate union and government. The conspirators who signed of the Declaration of Independence became the voices of a revolution, and ever since, conspiracy has been an integral part of U.S. politics. It played a major role in the Spanish-American War, the world wars, the Vietnam War, Watergate, and other crises throughout U.S. history.

Conspiracy Defined

The Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (1962) defines conspiracy as "a planning and acting together secretly, especially for an unlawful or harmful purpose, such as murder or treason." It is the noun form of *conspire,* a word with a long and varied linguistic derivation through the Middle English, Old French, and Latin. In Latin, it means to act in harmony, literally to breathe together: "to plan and act together secretly, especially in order to commit a crime." *Conspire* is defined thus "to join in a secret agreement to do an unlawful or wrongful act or to use such means to accomplish a lawful end." Conspiracy, the organization of intent, requires secrecy.

The common idea from both definitions is that "to conspire" is to plan and act together in secret. Implied in the definition is the notion of a group of persons acting together using a verbal communication network (the oral tradition). The definition of conspiracy does not clearly define the scope of a conspiracy's intent. Consider a more general definition from Anglo-American law: "A conspiracy is a combination of two or more persons formed for the purpose of committing some unlawful or criminal act or for the purpose of using unlawful or criminal means to commit an act not in itself unlawful." The essence of the crime is an agreement to act in concert and, in some jurisdictions, taking steps to carry out the plan.[3] Anglo-American statute law and the law of continental Europe do not recognize conspiracy as a crime when the purpose itself is legal.

When we combine the common details for a definition, we can cull a modern intermediate meaning of conspiracy as "the intent of a group of two or more persons to carry out a coordinated set of actions that violate local, state, or national laws." To state the phenomenon even more clearly, further distinctions are required.

First, notice that *conspiracy requires secrecy.* In everyday usage, we apply the term conspiracy to planning and actions conceived in privacy or in secrecy. Secret plans conceived and commonly understood between two or more persons and intents are not conspiracies in the legal sense, unless they are accompanied by criminal actions or are intended to have unlawful outcomes. You may legally conspire, that is,

communicate with groups of two or more members of your family to plan a birthday party. Your purpose may be hidden from specific persons. Since you would not be acting primarily to commit a crime, your "conspiracy" would not conform to the second part of the definition, that is, to commit an unlawful act. In the legal and moral context so defined, the concept of illegal, criminal activity must be present.

The very nature of conspiracy implies a human cognitive network—a group of people sharing the same well-defined thoughts and ideas. The ability not only to think, but to transmit the same complex message to larger audiences, is a fundamental organizational characteristic of our species. Critically important to conspiracy is the ability to communicate an idea to two or more people. This fundamental characteristic evolved through family and feudal systems into the main communications networks of society. Unique on earth for our ability to communicate complex thoughts to one another, we may at any time communicate either social or antisocial thoughts. In any event, we have within our circles of friends a communication network.

Second, *conspiracy employs unlawful actions or intends criminal results*. Well-known conspiracies in history have been implemented to circumvent law or to undermine national intent. Conspiracy against a government is more specifically defined as treason: betrayal of trust or faith; treachery; violation of the allegiance owed to one's nation, or betrayal of one's country.[4]

Third, *conspiracy is directed at a perceived enemy*. The enemy can be a person, place, thing, or idea, as long as it can be identified as the source of problems, repression, or misfortune.

For our purposes then, we can redefine conspiracy as a coordinated set of actions shared by a select group of people to commit a criminal act against a perceived common enemy. This narrow definition of *conspiracy* gives little indication of criteria that can be used to detect whether a conspiracy is in operation. It does not specify what is meant by a "coordinated set of actions," or how the actions are linked to the conspirators. The identification and verification of a chain of evidence are the required criteria to separate a true conspiracy from mere

conspiracy theories. Linking conspirators to evidence is a difficult, lengthy process, and can be more or less complex and complicated, depending on other factors.

Generally speaking, conspiracies have many common structural elements. First of all, they are ideas conceived by one or more people for a specific purpose—a description which, if not further qualified, would include most activities and most of the human race. Consider, for example, the decisions people make at critical points in their lives. People generally do not try to derive solutions for nonexistent problems or needs. Instead, when a problem arises, a solution is sought. The pattern of "problem requires solution" is followed. The same pattern of reasoning is true in the formulation of a conspiracy. For the basic description, a conspiracy is a projected solution that solves a perceived problem. Logically, by the time the solution is formed, the problem has already been defined. The definition of the problem indicates the reason for or purpose of the conspiracy, and is the prime motivating factor in the formulation of a conspiratorial idea.

Consider the surprise party once again. You identify a problem first: the need to celebrate a birthday. Then you identify a party as the method of celebration, the solution. Your decision is based on your analysis of the most effective way to solve the problem of celebrating the birthday. If you intend to act on this strategic goal, you have to make all the decisions required to plan the party. Where will the party be held? Do you have to reserve a party room at a hotel? Where will the refreshments come from? Whom will you invite, and how? You begin to identify and take action—to conspire with others—on all the tactical details that will implement your solution.

Conspirators who define a problem and identify a solution conduct the same kind of reasoning. The conspiracy is a solution that demands action from conspirators who develop tactical details as their *intent*. A specification of the intent allows the conspirators to identify one or more targets. An overall plan orchestrates the conspiratorial intent against the chosen target(s); this is the scheme, or master plan. Finally, there is the action or actions that implement the scheme against the chosen targets to achieve the desired effect.

Conspirators do not plot for their own discovery. The group acting out a conspiracy is different from the person or group attempting to uncover a conspiracy by advancing a theory of criminal intent. Again, this states the obvious, but it signifies an important problem: because conspiracy requires secrecy, conspiracy theorists are not often in possession of the complete chain of evidence required to promote their theory from the realm of possible actions to the realm of probable actions.

Declaring an action as possible does not increase the probability of the action as actually having taken place. For example, one conspiracy theory that suggests that extraterrestrial aliens are attempting to take over the earth for their own purposes.[5] Given the little we know about the nature of life forms in the universe, we can concede the possibility of this conspiracy. However, we have no evidence, no proof, to allow determination of a higher probability. In the absence of proof, no conspiracy theory can advance beyond the infinite, nonspecific realm of the possible into the realm of the highly probable supported by proof.

To separate crackpot conspiracy theories from significant ones, proof must be extant. Consider a group of six men who conspire to rob a bank, and who successfully carry out their plan. They have successfully planned and carried out a conspiracy. Now a group of people whom we will collectively call "the law"—bank officials, investigators, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), police, lawyers, judges, and juries—have reason to suspect that a group of people conspired to rob the bank. Based on this theory, they investigate, assemble clues, serve warrants, make arrests, have trials, all in an effort to correct the injustice caused by the bank robbers and conspirators. The major indicators of textbook conspiracy seem to fall into place.

Probability is established through observation of an action. In the bank robbery scenario, there was no probable suspicion of conspiracy until after the bank was robbed. In all the commotion and activity generated by the bank robbers, no notion of a bank robbery conspiracy theory was suggested by the law until after the intended action of the conspirators yielded evidence of the illegal act. In terms of possibility, the law may entertain a general "bank robber conspiracy theory" that

criminal actions are always being plotted against the local banks. This general theory, however, is not supported by specific evidence of an imminent criminal action against a specific bank at a particular time by a particular group. The general theory, which suggests the possible, does not support a specific probability.

Elements of a Conspiracy

When we ask how conspiracy theories begin, we are asking a question very different from that of how conspiracies begin. Conspiracies begin through the efforts of a group to commit a specific act. Conspiracy theories, on the other hand, begin *after observation of an act* by people not in possession of enough facts to make a definitive determination about the intent and scope of the act. Action gives the most obvious clue to the existence of a conspiracy. The police begin with an action, and must look for specific criteria to validate their theory. Generally stated, where conspirators move forward from intent to action, conspiracy theorists must move backward, tracing from the obvious action back to its initiating intent. The difference in the reasoning patterns is expressed clearly in mathematics as the relationship between integration and differentiation: the conspiracist integrates a specific set of steps to achieve the desired effect; the conspiracy theorist begins at the effect and differentiates between possibilities to determine the most probable set of circumstantial steps.

We can differentiate six elements that identify conspiracy theory and are worthy of concern and investigation. These elements are conspirators, reason or purpose, intent, scheme, target, and action. Additionally, three elements—duration, reach, and resources—define the more general nature of conspiracy.

Conspirators are a select group of persons who promote a conspiracy. They are of like mind, attention, and will in this matter, and are concentrated on their specific end or purpose. In effect, they have a shared goal: the objective they propose to attain. Conspirators can be subdivided into three groups: antagonists who mastermind the conspiracy and are its most visible symbol; perpetrators or coconspirators who do the bulk of the grunt work, and make and carry out the tactical plans; and supporters, those unknowing souls at

the end of a chain of manipulations who can be called upon to cheerfully and faithfully make a contribution of some kind, but who are not necessarily knowledgeable about the conspiracy. Conspiracies only become effective through the organized and determined actions of a complete group of conspirators.

Conspirators justify their existence by defining their *reason or purpose*. The reason defines the need to conspire. It must justify the presumption that the proposed secret action is necessary, and persuade others that the status quo must be changed. The goal of conspiracists is fulfillment of their purpose, which is usually directed toward a specific target.

A conspiracy can be said to begin when conspirators agree on a clearly defined reason or purpose. A conspiracy begins, in a stricter sense, with the success of the antagonists both to define their purpose and to recruit coconspirators and supporters. The *intent or objective* of conspiracy defines the result expected by the conspirators. The manifestation of their reason or purpose with respect to their target, their motive for acting, a goal or set of goals, is what the conspirators hope to achieve.

Scheme is the methodology employed by the conspirators to implement action against the target and to achieve the required objective. It is the strategic plan that orchestrates the efforts so that the target is "hit" in a precise and timely manner to the desired effect. The development of the scheme allows the antagonists to determine a set path to the goals they wish to achieve.

A *target* is the symbol of a conspirator's enemy. Every conspiracy needs at least one target. Targets may be physical or ideological, or a combination of these, and may be devised at a strategic or tactical level. Conspirators act by identifying a target for the actions that will achieve their purpose. For example, antagonists may conspire along ideological grounds to bring about socialism in a democracy. To this end, they direct their efforts using propaganda tools at their disposal, and democracy becomes the strategic ideological target of their efforts. However, they might also decide that in order to facilitate their goal, they must assassinate a state leader. Now they have a target in the physical form of a person.

Acting out the scheme of the conspiracy is formulated to yield the desired *effect*. As described in previous discussion, the public is normally not aware that a conspiracy exists until a recognizable action has transpired. Action, the most visible manifestation of the existence of a conspiracy, is directed against a target, and is expected to have an effect in line with achieving the conspiracy's goals. The intended effect of a conspiracy is not easy to control; overzealous coconspirators, mislaid plans, unintended or unplanned-for actions can easily sidetrack the intended action. Effect-wielding actions are usually the signature criminal activities of a conspiracy. As a conspiracy becomes more complex, the intended effect of each action becomes more difficult to control. A complex conspiracy requires more resources and tends to continue longer than originally intended. Three other factors enter into a discussion of conspiracy: duration, reach, and resources. These elements are a function of the conspiracy's scope.

Scope of a Conspiracy

One of the important considerations in defining a conspiracy is to determine its size. How big is it? What does it encompass? What are the boundaries of the territory in which it operates and intends to become effective? What human and material resources does it require to become and stay effective? How long must it be active in order to attain its goals? These ideas define the conspiracy's scope. Scope is a general term used to define the amount of time required for effectiveness (duration), a conspiracy's geographic area of operation (reach), and the accumulation and use of resources.

The *duration* of a conspiracy is the amount of time necessary to bring the intent into action and achieve the desired effect. Duration is a function of whether the conspiracy requires a finite (discrete) or nonfinite (that is, continuing) effort. This depends on the nature of the intent. Murder is a finite crime, discrete. Blackmail, however, may continue indefinitely, and is therefore nonfinite. In the international arena, the attempt by one country to manipulate elections or legislation in another country may be discrete, pertaining only to a specific election, or may be nonfinite, intending to influence the election results in many provinces, or for a number of offices, over an indefinite number of election cycles.

A conspiracy that concludes with one action for a single purpose is finite. Finite conspiracies present a small footprint, a smaller set of facts to draw from when attempting to determine intent. The ability to understand, or even to recognize, finite conspiracies fades with time. This happens because once the intent is achieved, no more activity is required by the antagonists, and therefore no more clues are left as indicators to the conspiracy. As long as the actors and intended effect remain unknown, the notion that there is or was a conspiracy remains only a theory. When the conspiracy yields only a single recognizable finite act, and no further activity by conspirators is evident, time slowly removes the ability to understand the reasoning behind the act.

In contrast, the ability to recognize nonfinite conspiracy grows because more details become apparent through time and related actions from the conspiracy's inception to link it to its present state and actions. Where successful finite conspiracies involve a limited and well-defined set of operatives and objectives, successful nonfinite conspiracies tend to increase both quantitatively, in the number of operatives and objectives, and qualitatively, in the necessary availability of other resources and in the intended results. Like political fundraising, a significant part of the results of the effort must always be directed to continuing the effort. Increasing the complexity of the intent increases its cost, as does increasing the number of operatives, or the duration of the effort. A longer duration involves more operatives, more money, more organization, and provides a better-defined trail to recognition of the continuing intent. It also provides more opportunity for detection through error, through becoming common knowledge to a wider group of people, and by becoming more bold, and attempting to fulfill objectives that are overt and recognizable, and that can be used to connect actions by the conspirators that would otherwise remain undiscovered and not seen as connected to a larger scheme. Large, nonfinite conspiracies tend to shed their occult status.

Continuing conspiracies must be constantly reformulated, and leave a trail of increasingly recognizable and related actions.

A final significant element within the scope of a conspiracy is reach in terms of geographic area. As a function of reach, the scope must also have available a set of resources. Each will be described in some detail.

Conspiracies have a well-defined *reach*. Reach is used to enclose the geographic area in which the conspiracy operates. An attempt to understand reach within the parameters of conspiracy leads us to question the methods by which conspiracy is made. At its smallest or most "local" level, reach describes actions directed against an individual. Understanding the individual in conspiracy theory, as in theories of psychology, sociology, and other social sciences, is of primary significance to understanding the effects of actions against other, larger groups. The individual establishes a baseline for clearly defined sociopolitical "orders of magnitude" or size boundaries, and is the primary focal point of systematic inquiry in the social sciences. Information about the individual is the core set of understandings about larger aggregations of society. The individual is the standard point of reference for our understanding of larger social and political entities. We define the sociopolitical orders of magnitude based on the individual, and expand the social effects of theories on progressively larger groups. Aside from the individual, we refer to special interest groups, then to the sociopolitical aggregations of community, city, county, state, and nation.

Reach, for our purposes, is classified using these sociopolitical orders of magnitude: local, national, and international. At the local level, we include the sociopolitical groupings of community, city, and county. At the national level, the sociopolitical groupings that cross state lines are the states themselves and political parties. At the international level, the interactions of sovereign states define the sociopolitical realities.

The reach of a conspiracy may change over time, especially if a conspiracy gains credibility, followers, and resources, and if it metamorphoses into a cause, crusade, or campaign. In these instances, the reach may expand beyond initially established ideological or sociopolitical borders. Conversely, attempts to increase the reach of a conspiracy may contribute to its demise. The initial scheme may not have taken a progressively wider reach into consideration, and subsequent plans to increase reach may not have been considered as thoroughly as plans for the original intent. This can result in inadequate information with regard to political meaning of the new potential targets, language and cultural differences, and a host of other factors.

A conspiracy is planned within specific, though not necessarily overtly specified, boundaries, and carried out against a specific person, place, or ideology. These two driving forces normally dovetail in the element of reach. We can set the stage for discussion and understanding by first considering the geographical boundaries in which a conspiracy operates (the "where"). Then within each boundary, we can deduce a better sense of "what"—the specifics of the conspiratorial intent.

In addition to these relationships, one other factor peculiar to the configuration of a conspiracy must be kept in mind: conspiracies are most effective when operating at the lowest possible level. By this we mean, for example, that a conspiracy intent on affecting the workers on a factory floor is more effective if it addresses itself directly to those workers rather than to all workers in, say, the same union, or to management. Action is most effective when directed to its intended target. In the framework of sociopolitical orders of magnitude, the target takes on different characteristics at each level.

We have noted that as a conspiracy becomes more complex—that is, the more complicated the scheme—more effort and resources are required to control the outcome. This is especially true of finite conspiracy, since the element of time figures more critically into the scheme. The inference is that the degree to which a conspiracy is complicated can be viewed on a continuum from simple to complex.

The simplest conspiracies have few antagonists, require minimal resources, and are finite. They focus on one action and intend a specific result. These are called *simple conspiracies*. They may also be contrived with a limited number of indirect targets, but these targets are of minor importance to the overall scheme. Time-to-result is critical in simple conspiracy scenarios.

A *complex conspiracy* can be described as having multiple primary targets united under a single purpose. The targets may be sequential or collateral, but all must be acted on in some specified way to achieve the desired result. This type of conspiracy is primarily planned as finite, but recognized by the antagonists as being of extended duration. Complex conspiracies do not "evolve" into nonfinite conspiracies.

A third kind of conspiracy, the *multiplex conspiracy*, has goals

requiring extended range and duration, and is least dependent upon timing. Such conspiracies tend to be nonfinite and have multiple goals often of apparently disparate nature, but united under a single strategic purpose. They have many primary and indirect targets, and are in part characterized by a tendency to create new intents and targets while others are still in progress and regardless of the outcome of other elements in the scheme. Multiplex conspiracies require enormous resources: human, financial, and often military or paramilitary. They tend to have an overt "cover story," acting as camouflage for the real intent, and to be orchestrated by a propaganda organization.

An example of a simple conspiracy, the bank robbery scenario, was given earlier in this chapter: a couple of crooks plan to rob a bank and escape to South America with the loot. A complex conspiracy scenario would run more like this: Al Capone decides to use his organization to take over all the gambling houses in the city of Chicago. As an international scenario, imagine a world superpower fielding ships at sea becoming involved in regional conflicts, and engaging in many political and military activities as circumstances and opportunity permit, all in a covert effort to thwart democracy and personal freedom, while overtly proclaiming its intentions to promote freedom and peace. Time is not a critical element for the superpower, because it knows that its quest will be open-ended until completed. Each different scenario represents a quantitative change, by some vaguely defined social order of magnitude, in the reach of a conspiracy.

No conspiracy would be capable of much reach if it did not have access to resources. *Resources* describes the human and material assets on which the conspirators can draw. These resources must be available to the conspirators for the purpose to be achieved. Required resources must be identified and acquired in sufficient quantities to satisfy the scope, and be made available for the duration of the conspiracy's purpose. These resources include, but are not limited to, money, recruitment of coconspirators and supporters, propaganda machinery, and other possible requirements, such as safe houses, cars, and weapons.

Now we can overlay these theoretical concepts and the more realpolitik notions of geopolitical boundaries with understanding of the strategies and tactics used to formulate and accomplish the intent.

Strategies and Tactics

Strategies and tactics are often talked about together, mainly because tactics are the means employed to advance a strategy. Given this, we notice that strategies vary with much more imagination according to the scope and expected duration of the conspiracy than do tactics. The strategy for running a local grocery store is rarely sufficient to run a chain of grocery stores. So it is with conspiratorial strategies: a strategy for robbing a local bank is much different from a strategy to rob a group of savings and loan institutions. For the same reasons, the tactics that were effective in the mom and pop corner deli—setting hours, prices, choosing merchandise, and putting the kids to work after school—also tend to be ineffective in a larger strategy. Somehow we can picture Laurel and Hardy robbing a bank, but not pulling off bank crashes.

Additionally, strategy is an overall manifestation of the conspiratorial idea, where tactic is more commonly associated with the action. Proving the existence of a strategy requires investigation, assembly of facts, burdens of proof, and declamations of intent. Tactic is more obvious, if not more tangible, than strategy. The acts that result from tactics may serve as evidence, facts in a hunt for strategy.

With these ideas in mind, it is easy to see why the determination of existence of a specific conspiratorial strategy is much more difficult to observe or determine than the more common tactics.

Having grouped conspiracies by size into categories of reach called local, national, and international, we can now roughly fit general categories of conspiratorial strategy into the same framework. A single tactic, say, murder at the local level, also works at the national and international levels (assassination).

Strategy, then, is the stuff of dreamers, and tactics are the grunt efforts to achieve short-term results towards the dreamers' goals. In conspiracy, strategy is the product of the masterminds. Tactics are

carried to action by perpetrators, and they generally do serious damage to their targets. Additionally, evidence is usually the result of tactical action: a fire is set, a weapon discharged; they leave sights and sounds, often damage, and usually plenty of evidence as to the intent.

Tactics seem more easily transferable across conspiracy size boundaries than strategies. Examining the proof of a strategy means understanding the evidence left by the tactics used. It makes sense, then, to know about common tactical actions. We will first group them according to the size boundaries mentioned above and later describe their migration to and interactions between these areas.

Conspiracies of *local* scope are those activated within a well-defined community. This can be interpreted to mean a city, business community, church group, or other limited social framework. Differentiation can be made by determining whether the conspiracy is planned for vengeance; this is a personal conspiracy. Other types within the local sphere might include efforts to change laws solely for personal benefit, actions of adverse possession, or deliberate attempts to destroy the reputation or credibility of another person or group.

Tactics applied at the local level can be traced to a general strategy of intent: to break existing bonds between persons, or between persons and institutions. Probably the most common local conspiratorial tactic is slander. Slander, or unpublished defamation, is often used to heap public derision upon individuals (or institutions), thereby altering their relationships with family members and with church and other social groups. Orchestrated slander campaigns are a major ingredient in politics and a financial drain on political candidates, even at the local level in elections for mayor, sheriff, and other functionaries of local government. The use of the media becomes a powerful propaganda tool in a slander tactic.

Personal relationships refer to the organizations of shared meaning between a person (A), and his or her family (x), church (y), or business (z). One tactic to alienate A from x is to cause untrue rumors about A to be circulated among x. X now perceives that A no longer shares some value that A and x were known to have shared before; X is concerned about the duration and scope of the rumored change in A.

Now a problem or break in the relationship between A and x is reasoned to be more likely to occur.

More or other related tactics may be used. Person A can also be the recipient of tactically applied pressure from social situations, resulting in deep expression of emotion from A. A devout person, person A, who is outspoken, can be publicly embarrassed, humiliated, or ridiculed in front of an important social group (y) or business establishment (z). A's anticipated response is commonly to dissociate from the group (-y). Person A may also become less, or possibly more, outspoken. The overall effect of specific tactics performed on specific individuals is a major unpredictable problem in the use of tactics. If Person A takes a gun to that church, to work, to McDonalds, or to the post office to blow some people away, the tactic creates an unanticipated crime against society. This unnecessary complication increases the chance of discovery of the conspiracy because of the unanticipated result from the tactic.

The same kinds of associations and assumptions can be made about Person A and his or her business or professional environment. Accusing doctors or priests of sexual abuse is sure to cause some local alienation of a specific pastor or doctor. The single incident is unlikely to affect the majority of the national congregation of a specific major religion, and a single doctor's reputation rarely seems to cross state lines. In either case, the tactic as we are describing it is reaching the outer limit of its scope: the state line. We can now look ahead to a discussion of tactics at the national level. But first one more step down into a deeper layer of man's murky, brute psyche.

Tactics occur where the rubber of conspiracy meets the road of reality. Slander and libel have been mentioned as common propaganda tools for antagonists. Other common tools are generally grouped into these categories: *murder:* affect the physical with finality; *torture:* affect physical and mental; *terror:* affect mental and emotional; *intimidation:* affect social, intellectual, and self-worth; and *ruin:* affect social, self-worth, and so forth.

From this brief list of tools, military psychologists of all persuasions have developed extensive lists of ways in which murder, torture, terror,

intimidation, and ruin can be used to accomplish military objectives. Slander can be interpreted as a form of intimidation; blackmail may be even more terrible. Note, though, that only murder is a tool with a finite result: used once on person A, it cannot be used again on person A. The scope of damage caused by the other sociopsychological tools may have dynamic effect in unpredictable directions for indefinite periods, depending on the person, group, or institution on whom the tactic was used. A viable tactic for the control of opinion leaders is to attempt to diminish their credibility through slander commonly known as ritual defamation or character assassination.

At the *national* level, tactics attempt to divide or break existing bonds among and between institutions. Now "personal relationships" metamorphoses into "societal affiliations," such as race, ethnicity, a major religious belief group, and political parties. J. S. Mill once stated that universal love for all humankind would sweep the world. He provoked this famous outburst from James Fitzjames Stephen: "Humanity is only I writ large, and love for humanity generally means zeal for my notions as to what men should be and how they should live.[6] Extended families at the national level are often the subjects of survey research via random cross-sampling of target populations. Advertisers use sociology and psychology to locate and sell to a specific mass audience. A salesman is likely to find a classical, hard rock, country, or other type of radio station as easily in one major city as in another clear across the country. Similarly, professional sports teams tend to generate nationally based allegiances of people with specific enthusiasms. Each is a family in the extended electronic village. Every sports team, radio station, television program has its extended family, composed of person A's from concentrated pockets around the country.

> ...all modern propaganda profits from the structure of the mass, but exploits the individual's need for self-affirmation; and the two actions must be conducted jointly, simultaneously.... Readers of the evening paper, radio listeners, movie or TV viewers certainly constitute a mass that has an organic existence.... These individuals are moved by the same motives, receive the same impulses and impressions, find them-

> selves focused on the same centers of interest, experience the same feelings, have generally the same order of reactions and ideas, participate in the same myths—and all this at the same time: what we have here is really a psychological, if not biological mass. And the individuals in it are modified by this existence even if they do not know it.[7]

The local church (y) of person A expands to become the "competing belief systems" at the national level. Ethnicity, race, and religion are generally seen as targets, and sex and violence as tools. Tactics can be used to pit one ethnic group against another, or damage the image of an entire religion or ethnic group. When news networks regularly air news from around the country about Catholic priests engaged in pedophilia and homosexuality, suspicion of the use of a national-level conspiratorial tactic is raised.

National conspiracies tend to make local conspiracies look petty, even though motivations may be similar. They are efforts wholly contained within a country's borders, and are of little concern to the international community. The best and most obvious examples of national conspiracies are found in the business world where corporate raiders, hostile takeovers, savings and loan scandals, pension fund thefts, and other grand illegal schemes seem to crop up with regularity. Political activity often becomes a target at election time: campaign mudslinging and hoards of money crossing state lines to influence outcomes of many a local issue or candidate are common. H. R. "Bob" Haldeman, White House chief of staff for Richard M. Nixon, described in his memoirs how the Nixon reelection committee conspired to smear the character of the president's democratic opponents. For example, Haldeman records on December 5, 1970, that White House aide Charles W. Colson had a private detective follow Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to Paris at the time of the funeral of French President Charles de Gaulle and photograph him with various women, with the intent of releasing the photos to the media. Presidential incumbent Richard Nixon apparently encouraged the creation of front groups that would cast derision on the integrity of his opponents. These "plots," as Nixon called them, included the organization of a group

that "sounds like" SDS (the Students for a Democratic Society, called the SDS, had an anarchic reputation in the early 1970s); Nixon wanted the group to openly support the Democratic candidates and praise their liberal records, and to publicize their "bad" quotes in the guise of praise.[8]

Political action committees (PACs) are the latest attempt to impute quasilegal status to national political conspiracy. PAC supporters claim that the congressional impasse on PAC restrictions stems from the argument that PAC elimination would abridge the right of the electorate "to organize collectively to maximize expression of a point of view and undermine the pluralism upon which democracy depends."[9] In industry, a seemingly endless set of conspirators regularly plots ways to discover a competitor's trade secrets.

A national conspiracy may include the creation of several local conspiracies, whose purposes coincide with an overall strategic aim of the national effort. This kind of coincidence is a common strategy in U.S. politics, especially in the flow of PAC money across state lines to influence election outcomes. Similarly, many internationally organized efforts have coordinated efforts across a number of sovereign states, and within those states, organizations of conspirators may further develop the conspiracy into local campaigns.

Racketeering provides the legal definition of national-level conspiracy in this country. It has been used to put mobsters, as well as Wall Street and corporate wheeler-dealers, behind bars. In 1970, Congress passed the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (known as RICO) to fight organized crime. The sweeping law permits seizure of assets illegally gained or used at the time of indictment—before conviction—and calls for triple damages if private plaintiffs can prove that defendants engaged in a "pattern of racketeering activity." Much-used during the 1980s in criminal and civil cases unrelated to mob activity—notably in securities fraud and other white-collar crime—RICO and its assets-seizure provision raised questions for civil libertarians about possible violations of due process.

Under U.S. federal statutes, it is a crime to conspire to commit an offense against the federal government or to conspire to interfere with,

harm, threaten, or intimidate a federal officer. Conspiracy by businesses in restraint of trade has been punishable since 1890 under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Although most legal actions under the Sherman Act have been brought against corporations, there has been a trend recently toward including individual corporate officers as defendants in such cases.[10]

National political conspiracies generally spring from one of two sources. The first claims to respond to popular need to overthrow or change an institution, voicing the intent to replace it with something perceived by the conspirators as better, more useful, and more relevant to the needs of the population. The "enemy" is given form as a set of problems created by the status quo: social problems, money and political corruption, drugs, pollution, and the like. The need to overthrow the existing system is given as the most reasonable solution for a compiled set of facts or events.

Another conspiratorial source springs from demagoguery. The demagogue claims a broad following, points to a vague enemy, makes extravagant but vague promises, and plays up false issues to divert public attention from true issues. Demagogic conspiracy feeds on paranoia, irrationality, and erroneous judgment, and is not subject to correction by experience. Televangelists who preach imminent destruction and claim that God wants people to send money, are classic examples of demagogues and demagoguery.

International Conspiracies

"In a broader sense, 'revolution within the form' is merely a definition of what used to be called 'subversion,' sometimes described as 'the manipulation of social institutions for alien ends, this manipulation being concocted covertly in the name of the institution's own values.'"[11] The real issue of discovering or preventing international conspiracy—the conspiracy of an alien force against national interests—is one of the main principles of federal existence: the right and duty of nations to protect themselves against other nations and empires. Its synonym at the national level equates to the right of states to guard their interests against national and international governments, and at the local level to the right of families and individuals to mind their own business without

interference from any government agency. Socialism, communism, capitalism, and other political ideologies promote numerous conspiracies at the international level.

Transnational corporations (TNCs), purportedly advance a conspiracy to reduce the standards of living worldwide so that wages will fall and products can be made more cheaply. "TNCs now control one-third of the world's private sector productive assets. The stock of foreign investment worldwide totals $2 trillion. The biggest group of owners are the TNCs based in the United States with $474 billion; those based in Britain come second with $259 billion, followed closely by the Japanese TNCs with $251 billion. The grim picture points to the demise of democracy resulting in "the race downhill to the lowest common international denominator, in which countries underbid each other and workers are forced to underbid each other."[12] Just given the information on the activities of TNCs, the concept of international conspiracies becomes very ominous. But is it a conspiracy?

At the international level, conspiratorial tactics attempt to divide or break existing bonds between countries. This usually involves tactics to weaken national unity in Country A so as to weaken national resolve. It is the divide-and-conquer tactic of public opinion, orchestrated for international impact. Opinion leaders for "the opposition" face repeated attempts at control; when opinion leaders become known or "at large," they literally invite opportunities to have their credibility destroyed. Opinion leaders for the conspiracy, however, receive the opposite treatment, giving their cause perceived credibility, or "pseudo-credibility." Family becomes elements of the "fabric of the society" of country A. Country B manipulates country A to use its military against country C, to country B's advantage, and at country A's cost. The coreligionists in country B send covert support to their religious cousins in Country A.

We can easily think of war as murder at the international level. Terror, torture, and intimidation also seem to be among the early stages of von Clausewitz's "diplomacy by other means."[13]

International conspiracies may be manifest at many levels. In this century, one of the best-known conspiracies was the desire to spread

communism, although many countries also faced conspiracies to promote democracy. The objective of conspiracies of this scale is the penetration of the ideologies that motivate a national government, making the government's policies appear as ineffective or as springing from purely selfish economic or political motivation. Many of the tactics, capabilities, and objectives—the techniques—become known through common use.

A distinction must be made between ideological and physical targets. The United States faced years of communist conspiracy in which the intent, aptly stated by Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev, was to "bury" the United States with everything in life that was better for citizens. The objective was to destroy capitalism. The other common ideological purpose, as mentioned earlier, was the attempt to replace capitalism with communism. Both of these campaigns tend to be nonfinite, and engage numerous tactics at all levels through the work of antagonists and supporters organized into cohesive groups.

Ideologies are theoretical targets. They cannot be shot at, bombed, or robbed, and have no physical attachments or appendages aside from expressions of ideas in propaganda, although symbolic physical targets may be used. International conspiracies, while primarily based on ideological notions, are also frequently based on the desire to achieve actual, physical results. The actual results of a conspiracy against the United States, for example, are usually gaining access to military secrets and hardware or acquiring control of U.S. foreign policy.

When we consider the kinds of conspiracies that are launched against the United States from elsewhere in the international community, we immediately come into close contact with the everyday historical events shaping the world. The United States, for all its problems and imperfections, is still a mecca and a paradise to people in the other three-quarters of the world who are mired in poverty, oppressed by dictatorships, awash with disease, and ravaged by hunger. U.S. foreign aid can be defined as the use of U.S. resources for ends that do not directly benefit the United States or its citizens, but which express the abstract concept of "good will." The past thirty years have seen a growing manipulation of U.S. foreign aid, and the negative effect is so real to Americans that few, outside of special foreign interest groups,

have much more than skepticism and contempt for the countries and governments receiving the generous aid. Israel siphons most U.S. foreign aid money.

The same can be said of U.S. military aid in many instances. While most countries claim that their weaponry is defensive, the uses of the weapons are often directed against unarmed civilians, a decidedly and uncharacteristic use of U.S. foreign aid resources. This is regularly the case with Israel's military aid requests and the corresponding raids by Israel into neighboring countries, where the weapons are used offensively and indiscriminately against civilian populations. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 underscored the indifferent attitude of the aggressor, and the selective double standard of the United States to enforce the terms of its weapons sales.

Conspiracy in the international arena becomes codified among governments as a covert activity called espionage. Those caught engaging in espionage during wartime are usually charged with treason. Treason suggests a betrayal of trust or faith, a treachery in violation of the allegiance owed to one's sovereign or state, and betrayal of one's country. The Constitution of the United States (Article III, Section 3, Clause 1) declares, "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court."[14] The kinds of conspiracy more commonly found at the international level during times of peace are more accurately referred to as sedition, the stirring up of resistance, discontent, or rebellion against the government in power.[15] Sedition can apply to anything regarded by a government as stirring up resistance, and many a paranoid government dictatorship has rolled out sedition as an excuse to murder political opponents.

On the international business front, compromise of the competitive positions of U.S. companies by unauthorized access from foreign (illegal) users can also be interpreted as conspiracy in action. With the history of powerful countries and nation-states as our guide, an assumption that the United States is continually the target of international

conspiracies, directed from many countries, for reasons that are political, military, or economic in nature, can easily be made.

Conclusion

In 1991, teenagers gained access to Department of Defense computers during the Persian Gulf War and changed or copied unclassified but highly sensitive information related to war operations. The hackers got their hands on crucial information on military personnel, the type and amount of military equipment being moved to the Gulf, the development of important weapons systems, and on nuclear weapons.[16] In another case, the decade-long career of one of the most sophisticated, successful telephone and computer hackers in the history of high-technology crime faced trial on federal charges ranging from electronic joyriding through telephone company computers to eavesdropping on an FBI investigation to hacking his way into military computer networks.[17] In yet another case, a group of computer intruders has been openly defying U.S. military, space, and intelligence authorities to enter computer systems, including those at Pacific Fleet Command and the Kennedy Space Center. Members of the group boasted that they could enter computers by way of international data networks with impunity.

"Hackers"—computer intruders—broke into a U.S. military computer while being filmed by a television station. Among other systems tapped, according to federal investigators, were those at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Stanford University.[18] The oldest known hacker gang in the United States, under investigation for a wide range of illegal activities, has been linked to some of the recent break-ins of computers on the Internet.[19] Computer wizards often make a game out of penetrating security systems. But that problem may start to diminish now that hackers are being tried and convicted under the 1986 Computer Fraud and Abuse Act.[20]

It is not too difficult to imagine what an organized effort could accomplish. But who would really want to do these things? Perhaps China, or Cuba, or other countries with known hostilities against the United States. Other organized efforts could certainly include anyone with both a grudge and the know-how or money to finance such

operations. Those are the terms in which we normally think of hackers: people on the other side of the law, on the other side of public opinion, our enemies somehow. We tend not to think that intelligence agencies from friendly governments would conduct espionage against the United States, but in fact that also happens. Espionage is primarily a task of gathering information.

The purpose of Israel's war against the United States is to manipulate the U.S. government and public opinion into providing unlimited, unequivocal support for Israeli military and economic goals. The antagonists are the political leaders of Israel. Their policies and aspirations are the primary beneficiaries of the conspiracy's results. The perpetrators are a highly organized group of military professionals within the Israeli military: the Mossad, and other agents. The supporters, called *sanayim*, are spread across professions in the United States, but are primarily focused in the media and the legal system.[21]

The intent is twofold: to modify U.S. public opinion to accept the disparity between U.S. moral logic in international affairs and the logic used in the treatment of Israel, and to manipulate the U.S. Congress into supplying the legal means for the transfer of U.S. financial and military resources without question.

The scheme is to prepare the emotional ground of public opinion through the media by manipulating lawmakers, social institutions, and schools to accept without question the rationale of unrestricted support for Israel.

Targets include the major avenues of information and professional trust: lawmakers, media personalities, news organizations, educational institutions, libraries, religious organizations, and ethnic groups. The intended effect is to create an uninterrupted flow of arms and money to support Israel's expansion efforts. Its reach is throughout U.S. institutions that could affect public opinion or decisions on Israeli aid.

Israel's strategy, the overall manifestation of the conspiratorial idea, is to control American public opinion with regard to Israel. It intends to manipulate existing social institutions, to the extent, if necessary, of promoting and exacerbating social discord, to legitimate its need for greater amounts of aid, and to discredit those who question this need.

Its tactics, while common, tend to focus on manipulation of news and entertainment media to create negative images of the perceived enemy (the "Arabs"), to divide and isolate persons or organizations that are perceived as threats (ethnic, religious, and racial groups), and to introduce Israel in a positive light through educational institutions at all levels.

This is Israel's wartime propaganda. Where conspiracy organizes the warlike intent of Israel, propaganda spreads the work and activates the intent of the conspiracy. Does propaganda have this kind of power? Consider the thoughts of Adolf Hitler who understood the power of propaganda as a weapon whereby people could be made to see paradise as hell, or see the most wretched sort of life as paradise:

> Propaganda will consequently have to see that an idea wins supporters, while the organization must take the greatest care only to make the most valuable elements among the supporters into members. Propaganda does not, therefore, need to rack its brains with regard to the importance of every individual instructed by it, with regard to his agility, capacity, and understanding, or character, while the organization must carefully gather from the mass of these elements those which really make possible the victory of the movement.[22]

To understand Israel's war against the United States, we must understand the meaning and power of propaganda.

[1] Hancock 1989.

[2] Produced by Oliver Stone (see Stone and Sklar 1992) and in movie theaters worldwide.

[3]Groliers Online Encyclopedia 1994.

[4] The Constitution of the United States (Article III, section 3) declares, "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

[5] For example, on television, *Earth, Final Conflict* on channel 56, Sunday nights at 10:00 p.m.

[6] Fleming 1994.

[7] Ellul 1973, p. 8.

[8] Haldeman 1994.

[9] Gans (1992) is a director of the nonpartisan Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

[10] From Groliers Online Encyclopedia (1994).

[11] Francis 1994.

[12] Gallin 1994.

[13] See Clausewitz 1918.

[14] http://www.house.gov/Constitution/Constitution.html.

[15] Espionage and sabotage acts, USC 18 ¦ 371. conspiracy to commit offense or to defraud the United States; USC 18 ¦ 641. Public Money, property or records; USC 18 ¦ 641. 793. gathering, transmitting, or losing defense information; USC 18 ¦ 794. Gathering or delivering defense information to aid foreign governments.

[16] *Seattle Times* 1991b, p. B1.

[17] Barnum 1991, p. A10.

[18] *Seattle Times* 1991a, p. A3.

[19] Dolinar 1990, p. D3.

[20] Mancini 1990, p. A8.

[21] Ostrovsky and Hoy 1990.

[22] Hitler 1940.

3. Propaganda and Psychological Warfare

What can people do to cut through the elaborate and ornamented framework of propaganda and get at what is real, get at the truth? I frankly don't think that anything more is required than ordinary common sense.

Noam Chomsky 1992, p. 11

We would become engaged in a useless exercise if we attempted to uncover the nature of Israel's war against the United States without determining the nature of the supporting propaganda to which Americans are subjected. To further its conspiracy for control of U.S. resources, Israel wages a propaganda war. The effort is systematically reinforced in the educational system and in media portrayals of religion and race. It is a propaganda that portrays discord among large demographic groupings, and harmony among ethnic Jews in the United States.

As a conspiracy, it is an organized strategy by a foreign government to control the resources of the United States. This entails control of public opinion through creation of media stereotypes (repeated images). The U.S. media confound even the pope's message, and promote Zionism as the politically inspired religion to replace Judaism. The educational system, which controls and oversees content of instructional material in the public schools, present Israel's version of history. It focuses on the plight of European Jews during the World War II. Biblical descriptions, documentary films, and English and history textbooks convey carefully orchestrated messages about Jews and Israel. The media promote African-American–Jew and Nazi-Arab paradigms, agitating race issues through radio, television, and cinematic programming. Control of Congress through both the mass media channels and PAC money becomes much more manageable as a result of widespread supporting propaganda.

Israel's propaganda in the United States is designed to manipulate public opinion, and thereby to direct political discourse on foreign

policy and the resulting decisions that affect Israel. We must necessarily come to understand the nature of modern propaganda in the worldwide media setting of the late twentieth century. This requires a view of propaganda first from a historical perspective because many of the commonly held beliefs about propaganda spring from obsolete concepts. Then we can begin to understand propaganda from the modern perspective where all the avenues of mass communication have become players, and the concentration of media resources has become critical. This approach requires review of the socioscientific disciplines that supply the rationale for a propagandist argument and approach. Given the pervasive nature of propaganda in society generally, this discussion will give us the tools to recognize Israel's propaganda and its many footholds in contemporary American society.

To Americans, the concept of propaganda conjures images of superpower cold war rhetoric and ideological conditioning in support of oppressive political regimes. We retain vague black-and-white images of Chinese peasants laboring to the sound of Maoist propaganda over primitive loudspeaker systems, or Soviet shortwave broadcasts extolling the greatness of communism and the moral bankruptcy of capitalism. Propaganda is nominally identified by its crass attempt to tell people what to believe, and by a repetitious quality that appeals to a brutish level of intelligence in the listening audience. It is seen as an attempt to perpetrate flawed logic, an intent to inculcate a form of mass ideological education. At a basic descriptive level, propaganda is perceived as an action of government, a defensive weapon used to keep the thoughts of the masses in line with official political beliefs. Propaganda is perceived within the framework of conspiracy not only as having an exhortative quality, but also an enforcement mechanism that spies upon, reports back, and acts against "dissidents" who question or oppose the party line.

The federal government does not operate or control any domestic political news channels, and the commercial media take pride in their refusal to rebroadcast information received directly from a foreign government. U.S. media channels do not provide consistent foreign news coverage or much coverage at all of foreign news. Americans,

therefore, don't believe themselves to be the objects of propaganda campaigns. Their own government does not overtly propagandize them, and they do not see enough information about any other country to make them believe in foreign coercive attempts.

Historical Perspective of Propaganda

Certain broad themes and tendencies can be traced throughout the history of propaganda. Simplified definitions, such as "conscious conspiracy to manipulate public opinion," or "a combination of information manipulation and myth creation," or merely "lies," summarize current common descriptors of the phenomenon. But modern propaganda has long abandoned the technique of ridiculous lies. It operates instead with many different kinds of "truths"—half-truths, limited truths, and truths out of context.[1] Modern-day propaganda is studied and practiced under sociological and psychological disciplines. Rather than relying upon the merciless pounding of overt repetition, it seeks to understand and manipulate symbols associated with deep-seated beliefs, and to influence its audience subconsciously. Modern propaganda does not try to get people to believe ideas that are untrue, but rather, it seeks to persuade people to act in ways contrary to their beliefs.

Every author who deals with the media and society makes an attempt to define propaganda, either to separate it from education, advertising, information, and fact, or to integrate it with one, some, or all of these terms. Most have offered similar derivations, tracing the root usage back to the sixteenth century papal edict, and on through the early twentieth century broadening of its meaning and scope. The word *propaganda* derives from the Latin root word *propagare*, meaning to peg down, to transplant. It first appeared in the seventeenth century, when Popes Gregory XV and Urban VIII established a College of Propaganda to educate priests for missionary work. The Catholic Church still maintains a committee of cardinals, the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, to supervise its worldwide missions.[2] The word "propaganda" gradually became associated with the efforts of secular organizations, and of nations, to influence the thinking and actions of others.

Early in the twentieth century, U.S. national and international propaganda began by disseminating ideas and information to inculcate thought and actions in line with U.S. policies. As a concerted government effort, the propaganda weapon came into being by an executive order of President Woodrow Wilson in 1917. He established a Committee on Public Information, composed of the secretaries of War, State, and Navy, and appointed George Creel, a journalist, as director. This committee came to be known as the Creel Committee.[3]

U.S. propaganda analysts from 1920 to 1933 made use of techniques that followed sociopsychological reasoning. They referred to the secret character (that is, conspiracy) of sources and goals of the information to be disseminated, the deliberate intention to modify opinion, the dissemination of conclusions of doubtful validity, and the attempt to inculcate rather than to explain ideas. Although these broad concepts do not enjoy wide use today, they do share many ideas with modern trends. Despite differing techniques and the diversity of methods employed, one characteristic remains constant: the concern with the effectiveness of the propaganda on the target population. Propaganda is made first of all because of an intent by a group of individuals to inspire specific thought or action for the purpose of effectively arming a secret policy. "Whoever handles this instrument can be concerned solely with its effectiveness. This is the supreme law, which must never be forgotten when the phenomenon of propaganda is analyzed. Ineffective propaganda is no propaganda."[4]

Hitler's propaganda efforts promoted racial comradery for Germans abroad. This was especially important to the overall war effort. Goebbels proposed to cultivate favorable attitudes toward Germany among the populations in the Western Hemisphere, hoping thereby to exert a corresponding pressure on the U.S. government. The central task was to develop sympathy for the Third Reich's foreign policy. Intensification of the propaganda campaign on the U.S. front included free news to German newspapers in the United States, free educational materials to schools, and special radio broadcasts, all coordinated and directed to instill in German-Americans the current German "race" consciousness and a sense of allegiance to Hitler's Germany. Alarmed U.S. propaganda analysts complained that if this agitation were to

continue unchecked, it would result in setting apart a large group of inhabitants of the United States whose duty it would be to render primary allegiance to the ruler of a foreign power.

In the early half of the 1930s, the power of the new weapon in the hands of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Bolshevik Russia was apparent. France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands all entered stronger phases of propaganda broadcasting. The Creel Committee sought to educate its colleagues in both U.S. and Allied governments on the significance of public opinion to the war effort. An inexperienced group when compared to co-temporary European specialists, the committee nevertheless played a major role in explaining the U.S. war effort to the world. Because propaganda efforts were popularly associated with the efforts of information campaigns in France, Germany, and Great Britain, the Secretary of State, many U.S. diplomats and large segments of the press, public, and Congress viewed the Creel Committee with suspicion.

U.S. propaganda efforts for World War II did not reemerge until after the fall of France in 1940, when Roosevelt appointed Nelson Rockefeller as Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Affairs among the Central and South American republics. He also created a government bureau to provide Americans with information on the defense effort called the Office of Facts and Figures. The negative meaning of propaganda had already evolved and had aroused a wary attitude in the public mind. Roosevelt consciously avoided use of the term and any association of his agency with malintent. To this end, he appointed a poet, Archibald MacLeish, to head the new agency's focus on national propaganda.

Shortly after the United States entered the war, Roosevelt established another agency, this one with the specific objectives of foreign intelligence, clandestine political action, and sabotage.[5] Appointed as director under the title of Coordinator of Information was lawyer and former military officer William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan. Donovan set up the Foreign Information Service, and appointed playwright and former Roosevelt speechwriter Robert E. Sherwood as director. It was Sherwood who began the first U.S. international news broadcast programs. In February 1942, the Foreign Information Service brought

together the facilities of eleven private shortwave broadcasting stations and transformed them into a government-sponsored broadcast effort called the Voice of America. Four months later, Roosevelt consolidated the U.S. effort into the Office of War Information, and appointed journalist Elmer Davis as its director. Sherwood remained head of what became the overseas branch of the Office of War Information, much later to be known as the United States Information Service.

The last entry in the wartime information effort was the Office of Strategic Services, composed of officials of the Departments of Navy, State, and War. Its efforts were directed toward subversion, espionage, and intelligence activities. Initially directed by the same Wild Bill Donovan, the Office of Strategic Services later evolved into the Central Intelligence Agency.

The propagandist of the World War II era used every means of mass communications technology available to them: a bold proliferation of colorful posters; radio talk shows, documentaries, and politicized entertainment shows; cinematic presentations, including full-length feature films and short newsreels shown before main features. Mass rallies were planned in meticulous detail and dominated by pageantry and loudspeakers; handbills and pamphlets; the integration of messages into almost every form of the arts, music, theater, dance, painting, and education. All the organizations in society that could be mobilized were enlisted: church and social groups, clubs, trade unions, and the like. Propaganda employed censorship and legal texts, and proposed legislation, and the insertion and censorship of material presented at international conferences. Every means of communication was seen as an opportunity for propaganda, and everything was utilized.[6] In an era when none of the message-carrying media had the range or the scope of contemporary broadcast television, a propaganda organization was developed to deliver messages with so much power and effectiveness that the techniques are still being studied today. In the arena of international propaganda, this is especially so.

Hollywood and Madison Avenue supported the allied effort during World War II. They turned their businesses into a war industry and became extraordinarily efficient at cranking out war messages in the guise of entertainment. It was at this time that the makers of what was

to become the popular culture realized the power of the mass media, and how best to apply the techniques of covert, as well as explicit, sociology and psychology to propaganda. The current critique of popular culture that has emerged since then argues that the media barons have used their instruments with many a hidden agenda ever since.[7] The later chapters of this book present an in-depth analysis of the media's political agenda and techniques.[8]

The special emphasis of propagandists, then and now, is to *manage consent* and exert social control over specific target populations. To achieve this end, modern propagandists freely borrow techniques derived from advertising and the entertainment industry, from the disciplines of psychology and sociology, and through scientifically inspired uses of polls and surveys to convey political messages. The producers of "popular culture" liberally inject political messages into their advertisements and feature productions. As a result, the United States Information Agency, our government's nominally "official" propaganda agency, has been largely supplanted by the corporate news media, opinion polls, Hollywood media magnates, and Madison Avenue advertising agencies, "...enervating and incapacitating American governments." Darnovsky et al. 1989

Propaganda was understood, especially in the Western democracies, to be a wartime exigency, an additional weapon of statecraft used temporarily (like wartime censorship) in the effort to further a military struggle. From 1945 until the end of the cold war, propaganda warfare between the United States and the Soviet Union became the defining effort of superpower hostilities. The cold war continued for nearly half a century, inculcating fully three generations of humanity to the unremitting process of propagandization using increasingly sophisticated and powerful techniques.

Definition of Propaganda

In the popular vernacular, any distasteful slogan, advertisement, or cultural trend can be discredited as propaganda. The result of this indiscriminate overuse is that the methodology of modern propaganda has become obscured by an overactive perception of obsolete and largely nonexistent techniques. Most writers on the subject agree that

propaganda involves an effort to manipulate public opinion. But this leads them to ask if every attempt to manipulate public opinion comprises propaganda. The question poses a great problem, because if the answer is yes, then advertising, education, news, and practically all forms of communication fall within the realm of propaganda, a nonspecific and therefore unsatisfactory definition. Answering "no" leads to the question, then when are we being propagandized, and when are we merely being informed, educated, or urged to buy? This has been the unanswerable question in the search for a definition of propaganda. Jacques Ellul tried to address this problem:

> The most generally held concept of propaganda is that it is a series of tall stories, a tissue of lies, and that lies are necessary for effective propaganda.... This concept leads to two attitudes among the public. The first is: "Of course we shall not be victims of propaganda because we are capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood." Anyone holding that conviction is extremely susceptible to propaganda, because when propaganda does tell the "truth," he is then convinced that it is no longer propaganda; moreover, his self confidence makes him all the more vulnerable to attacks of which he is unaware.[9]

A truly useful definition of propaganda must include reference to the specific nature of the current social, cultural, and political situation: the monopolization of radio and television ownership, the creation of heroes and defamation of politicians, and the national and international situations in which the United States finds itself. It must also include reference to the ideas that motivate it. We may assume that propaganda by its very nature does not reveal the true intent for which it is enacted in the popular vernacular. It follows that propagandists cannot reveal their intended projects and plans, or the principals for whom they act, whether government agency, political party, industrial chief executive officer, or inimical foreign interest.

It has proved very difficult to determine not only what constitutes propaganda, but also what the nature of propaganda is, especially when compared to education, advertising, and news about the world.

This is because propaganda emanates from a secret action, not readily apparent in intent, and not motivated by the activities in which it occurs. The temptation, as Ellul notes, is to agree that "everything is propaganda" because everything in the political or economic spheres seems to be penetrated and molded by this force." Or we can proceed as certain modern American social scientists have done and abandon the term propaganda altogether, because a consensual definition cannot be reached with any degree of accuracy. Either course is, according to Ellul, inadmissible intellectual surrender, because to adopt either attitude would lead us to abandon the study of a phenomenon that exists and that needs to be defined and understood. At least we can proceed with the understanding that we will avoid the all-or-nothing extremes.

Stalinist propaganda was largely founded on Pavlov's theory of the conditioned reflex. Hitlerian propaganda was in great measure founded on Freud's theory of repression of the libido. U.S. propaganda follows Dewey's theory of teaching.[10] Modern propaganda is based on scientific analyses of social and in-depth psychology and sociology.

To this end, definitions of propaganda are as diverse as the people who have written on the subject over the years. We can immediately discard overly generalized definitions as Marbury B. Ogle's:

> "Propaganda is any effort to change opinions or attitudes.... The propagandist is anyone who communicates his ideas with the intent of influencing his listener."[11]

This definition would include teachers, priests, parents, and indeed any person conversing with any other person on any topic. A broad definition, even if not extreme, clearly does not help us to understand the specific character of the activity.

Terrence Qualter attempts to get more specific, if less clear. His attempt to define propaganda serves more as a set of related, descriptive observations:

> A deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given situation the reaction of those

> so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist.... In the phrase "the deliberate attempt" lies the key to the idea of propaganda. This is one thing that marks propaganda from non-propaganda.... It seems clear, therefore, that any act of promotion can be propaganda only if and when it becomes part of a deliberate campaign to induce action through the control of attitudes.[12]

Kimball Young defines it from a more scientific perspective as follows:

> The more or less deliberately planned and systematic use of symbols, chiefly through suggestion and related psychological techniques, with a view to altering and controlling opinions, ideas, and values, and ultimately to changing overt actions along predetermined lines.[13]

Leonard W. Doob (1935, p. 89), presents this definition of propaganda:

> Intentional propaganda is a systematic attempt by an interested party (or parties) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and, consequently, to control their actions; unintentional propaganda is the control of the attitudes and, consequently, the actions of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion.

The propaganda environment describes the American popular culture in terms of its receptivity to messages generated by a political cabal seeking to manipulate the public. The manufacture and distribution of propaganda is a conspiracy that uses the mass media to facilitate or to influence the activities of the state through the manipulation of public opinion. Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization.

Pre-propaganda

We have noted that propaganda continues to be perceived through obsolete assumptions. One such concept is that propaganda is not selective about its intended audience. This is not incorrect, but neither is it accurate because it does not take into account the work that precedes propaganda. Pre-propaganda is not specifically selective; its aims are directed at the target universe without attempting to convey an underlying political message. The ensuing propaganda, however, is highly selective of audience, and the requirements and exhortations of the message are quite specific. Pre-propaganda prepares the ideological environment for the propaganda initiative. The direct propaganda of agitation and integration demands motivation, ultimately in the form of support for a specific conspiracy.

The purpose of pre-propaganda is to create the environment where people are most vulnerable to propaganda. This is clearly defined in the literature as the psychological and sociological state in which the individual is alone and powerless in society. Propaganda is most effective when the social groups attended by individuals have disintegrated or have become meaningless through debasement and ridicule. A content analysis of contemporary U.S. pre-propaganda reveals a number of basic themes in this regard—racism, sexism, brute patriotism, a contempt for the Third World, and a national chauvinism about the superiority of capitalism.[14]

Deeply impressed on the mass consciousness is the attempt to alienate the individual from basic social structures, the "fabric of society." Characteristic disdain for the moral structures supplied by organized religions, the efforts of the justice system, faith in government officials, and the institution of the family are widespread. The media regularly portray children in opposition to parents, authority, and school; parents in opposition to children; and brother in opposition to sister. Violent antisocial acts are the mass media's main fare.

Pre-propaganda promotes social disorder: crime, murders, rapes, robbery, and defenses of criminals over victims, and uses the legal system to promote ethnic and racial outrage. The Rodney King and O. J. Simpson trials of the 1990s are the now-classic examples of

antisocial vehicles carrying the negative messages of race and sex. Equally destructive pre-propaganda are the ethnic themes of Nazi racial attitudes, victimization of Jews, Polish brutality and stupidity, Arab backwardness, violence on the part of Italians, and bigotry against the Irish that are regular features of print and cinematic media. Recognizing unfocused hatred as a spontaneous and common sentiment, pre-propaganda supports political propaganda each time it designates someone as the source of all misery. ("Any tall tale will be believed once it enters into the passionate current of hatred...the less educated and informed people to whom propaganda of agitation is addressed, the easier it is to make such propaganda....")[15] Ellul refers to this as the propaganda of developed nations and characteristic of our civilization, which did not exist before the twentieth century. It is a propaganda of conformity.[16]

Pre-propaganda promotes increased taxes, then ridicules decreased public services, with the overall effect of reducing communication between the governed and the government. It is a major force in reduction of the availability of education and educational quality. Pre-propaganda is the weapon used to silence the intelligentsia generally by replacing vigorous political thought with syndicated opinion by a corps of propagandists. It includes a clearly defined effort to display the debilitation of legal power, regularly described by the media as the powerlessness of a legal system, the arrogance of criminals, the social club mentality of the prison systems, and the continued humiliation of crime victims. Police forces are depicted as clubs of stupid brutes riddled with the corruption of drug cartels. Drugs are widely advertised and promoted through glamorization of the lifestyles of music, radio, television, and movie personalities, television programs, so-called drug awareness programs, and "drug free zone" signs around schools.

Sensationalism supplants news because, media apologists tell us, the audience wants sensationalism. In fact, although the audience wants peace, freedom, morality, order, and comfort, it is fascinated by sensational "news" about others. Pre-propaganda provides the deliberate opposite, and bases its program on scientific research in the social disciplines, utilizing sophisticated polling and analysis techniques. It deliberately gives society what it doesn't want, so that the audience will be more receptive to messages devoid of the antisocial

conditions. This is the expressed scientific media rationale for antisocial programming, extreme violent content, shocking sexual and social behavior, the proliferation of guns, and violent society: that these elements of the media create the climate of receptiveness for the advertiser's messages. Although appeal to the baser instincts of humans has been proved to grab attention and serve as effective pre-propaganda, this technique is in fact not the sole means by which audiences can be made receptive to consumerist messages.

The promotion of antisocial rather than positive social prevailing attitudes is where the line is drawn between pre-propaganda for the sake of promoting mass consumerism, and pre-propaganda for the sake of creating a prepared surface for a more profoundly negative political propaganda. Preadvertising does not need to create disdain for social institutions, ridicule of ethnic and religious values, and alienation of the individual in society. These are in face antidemocratic and anti-American tendencies; they are destructive forces, and deserve no place in American society or the media. The sociology of the media does not even admit to another path of socialization. The overall effect is to provide the mass audience with more events with which they can disassociate than events with which they can associate, creating the desired social alienation that is critical to successful dissemination of political propaganda.

Modern Propaganda

Like modern propaganda, modern advertising developed roughly in the middle 1920s. Edward Bernays, the "father of public relations," borrowed Freud's thinking and applied it to sales. His use of symbols and images revolutionized the marketplace and may have been the single most significant factor in the development of our current consumer society. Real propaganda must involve more than one individual, both in delivery and in effect. It cannot be the manic agitation of a lone pamphleteer championing causes on street corners. It requires organized, systematic activity by a group of people—a conspiracy—seeking to manipulate *mass* opinion.

> Propagandists are experts in the consciousness industry, in the mass mediated, commercial art of

> "perceptron management," "spin control," and "plausible deniability." ...This pervasive cultural phenomenon cannot be completely understood as the outcome of large-scale social and historical trends, because it is in large measure as the work of clever conspirators or public relations experts. Messages and images are carefully crafted by specialized agencies and disseminated by the sophisticated mass media delivery systems. In this respect, television has become chief arbiter of reality, the main tool of the consciousness industry. Education, public relations, public opinion polling, and market research all play significant supporting roles. Traditional concerns about the communication of information—freedom of the press, censorship, government secrecy, the commercialization of information—all contribute to the network of media monopolization....[17]

Describing Propaganda Techniques

Propagandists rely on two broad, general techniques to promote the effectiveness of their messages. The first is the capture of existing groups. The second is the dissemination of the essential propaganda within those groups. Two major works describing the influence of propaganda in twentieth century society are Doob's behaviorist psychological work and Jacque Ellul's sociological treatise.[18]

Doob describes the techniques for modifying the consciousness of the mass audience to achieve this effect. His psychological interpretation of propaganda was the outcome of wartime propaganda research, and preceded Ellul by about twenty-five years. The current lack of use and interpretation of his schema is based on the decline of behaviorism as a mainstream psychological theory. The sociological instances he uses as examples in his text, however, should not detract from the substance of his theories or interpretations.

Doob acknowledges the relationship of pre-propaganda to propaganda most clearly in his *Principle of Related Attitudes*. His description of pre-existing attitudes and the relative importance of an

individual's sociopsychological structure lead to an order of importance: an individual is seen to possess "dominant" and "submissive" attitudes. These may also be thought of as active and passive, major and minor, or primary and secondary attitudes, depending upon the discipline used to describe the phenomenon. Doob's recognition of the ability to manipulate pre-existing attitudes evolves as the predecessor for pre-propaganda theories in mass advertising and political persuasion. Suggestion is the rhetorical technique or soft science of anchoring auxiliary attitudes into dominant, pre-existing ones, so that the impact of "firing up" the auxiliary attitude works with the force of the main attitude. In this way, the presentation of the propaganda messages deliberately blurs the distinction between personal and inculcated beliefs. This crossover effect is the heart of propagandization in the mass-media–influenced social environment.

In the "sphere of unpredictability" principle, Doob explains how the task of propagandists is to narrow the range of images associated with an intended message. This is done through techniques that create "submissive" attitudes in the audience toward ideas that the propagandist intends to be as "dominant," resulting in a more receptive audience. The propagandist attributes objects and persons of positive social value to the propaganda message, and thereby attempts to make adherence to the propaganda message appear as universally accepted. Any challenge of the prestigious personalities who support the proposed ideology both draws attention to itself and necessitates precision and proof. This is normally characterized by media efforts to create and destroy prestige figures.

Other reinforcements offered by the propagandist include indicating paths of action, reinforcement of the main idea through repetition, mixing in of other pre-existing attitudes, and addition of new and related attitudes. These ends are commonly accomplished through distortion, suppression, and fabrication of mass-mediated information.

Counterpropaganda is a form of propaganda useful when conflicting pre-existing attitudes prevent the action desired by the propagandist. Here, the propagandist uses negative suggestion to undermine conflicting attitudes, positive suggestions to form new related attitudes, and straight persuasion, using the techniques of prestige and submission.

It is also used to inoculate the audience against opposite reactions: by making an audience aware of a particular idea, the propagandist can suggest the proper reply, rebuttal, or course of action to counter the idea in accordance with the aim of the inculcated idea.[19]

Describing Propaganda Effects

Jacques Ellul describes how propaganda must become so thoroughly combined with daily life that it becomes indistinguishable from moral judgement:

> Propaganda tries to surround man by all possible routes, in the realm of feelings as well as ideas, by playing on his will or on his needs, through his conscious and his unconscious, assailing him in both his private and his public life. It furnishes him with a complete system for explaining the world, and provides immediate incentives to action...propaganda cannot be satisfied with partial successes, for it does not tolerate discussion; by its very nature, it excludes contradiction and discussion.... Extreme propaganda must win over the adversary and at least use him by integrating him into its own frame of reference....[20]

To Ellul, propaganda must be managed as a total and all-encompassing experience so that it constantly surrounds the target and reinforces the intended message. Within the mass media, it must be evident in both information and entertainment genres of network news, newspapers, radio, TV, movies, posters, meetings, and the like.

Ellul's propaganda universe is complex and insightful. His involved descriptions and sociological constructs of the techniques of propaganda, combined with his remarkable storytelling power, allow his book to stand as the most comprehensive and insightful text on the phenomenon. His work clearly influenced Canadian media critic Marshall McCluhan, who popularized the ideas of media influence in mass society in the late 1960s.

Ellul speaks of propaganda as "a menace which threatens the total personality," and notes that "...the most fundamental defect of most

studies made on the subject is their attempt to analyze propaganda as an isolated phenomenon. This corresponds to the rather prevalent attitude that separates sociopolitical phenomena from each other and of not establishing any correlation between parts, an attitude that in turn reassures the student of the validity of the various systems."[21] He states that we must attempt to understand propaganda from the modern perspective, one in which all of the avenues of mass communication have become players. The social science disciplines that supply rationale for propaganda's intellectual and theoretical arguments include psychology, sociology, and the mass communication disciplines, and presentation techniques of rhetoric, persuasion, advertising, and marketing.

Sociological propaganda is a much more difficult phenomenon to grasp than political propaganda, but the latter must control elements of the former in order to be effective. Ellul describes sociological propaganda as the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context. Ideology is the vehicle that makes various political acts acceptable to the people. But in sociological propaganda the movement is reversed, and political acts supported by propaganda are used to build the ideology. Ellul calls this phenomenon "sociological" propaganda to show, first of all, that the entire group, consciously or not, expresses itself in this fashion, and to indicate, secondly, that its influence aims much more at an entire lifestyle than at opinions or even one particular course of behavior. This understanding of propaganda is somewhat broader than Doob's notion of unintentional propaganda.[22]

Ellul sees agitation propaganda as the most visible and widespread form of the phenomenon, the agitation that attracts all the attention. It seeks rebellion or war, and demands the participation of the pre-propagandized individual. "The propagandist releases the internal brakes, the psychological barriers of habit, belief, and judgment."[23]

Classic propaganda, as one usually thinks of it, is a vertical propaganda—in the sense that it is made by a leader, a technician, a political or religious head who acts from the superior position of his authority and who seeks to influence the crowd below. This is clearly in line with Doob's observation that persons of prestige maintain a dominant position, creating a submissive attitude in the recipients of the message (vertical and horizontal propaganda).[24]

Vertical propaganda is by far the most widespread. Like most propaganda, it is easy to make, but its direct effects are perishable, and require constant repetition. It is primarily useful for social agitation. Horizontal propaganda is made inside the group (not from the top) where, in principle, all individuals are equal and there is no leader. Its most remarkable characteristic is the small group. The individual participates actively in the life of this group, in a genuine and lively dialogue. This form of propaganda needs two conditions: first of all a lack of contact between groups. A member of a small group must not belong to other groups in which he would be subjected to other influences. This is why the Chinese Communists insisted on breaking up traditional groups, such as the family.[25]

Detection of Propaganda

Harold Lasswell described propaganda as the manipulation of symbols in order to influence attitudes on controversial matters. He offers seven tests for detecting propaganda. In the *avowal test*, a person is considered to be influenced by propaganda when he or she exclusively identifies with one side of a controversy. The *parallel test* is a medium-related activity that classifies the themes of a given channel of the media with the content of a known propaganda channel. This is related to the *consistency test*, an analysis to determine the degree to which a communication follows a party line: the higher the degree of consistency, the more certainty can be attached to the influence of party propaganda on the communication. The *presentation test* is an analytical technique for statistically determining the balance of favorable and unfavorable semantic treatment given to symbols or statements in the communication. The *source test* attempts to identify whether there is unique reliance upon one known and overtly identifiable party for the material presented. The *concealed source test* tests for the same condition as the source test, except where disclosure of the information source is withheld. The *distinctiveness test* is a measure of the use of vocabulary peculiar to one side of a controversy, showing that the material is based in a specific political vocabulary. Finally, the *distortion test* is a measure of persistent modification of statements on a common topic in a direction favorable to one side of

a controversy, in which statements are omitted, added, or over- or underemphasized.[26]

Propaganda analysis implies drawing purpose from inferences. Scholars have noted that inferring intent from content is not always accurate. *Frequency content indicators* (counting more or less of something) refers to the number of times one or more characteristics are present in a body of communications and are of limited value in detecting propaganda. Propaganda analysis is more often used to infer purpose from processes of communication rather than from effects of communication.[27]

Marketing Advertising Techniques

Advertising is the model for creating and activating modern propaganda. To propagandize a particular group, the propagandist first chooses the target group and determines the desired action, attitude, or response. He develops associations between the target group and the target attitude, and decides on the message vehicle.

Repetition is then used to neuro-condition the message. Neuro-conditioning is accomplished by developing an agitated emotional state, then creating neuro-associative anchors. The technique for creating these anchors is to put the listener in an emotional state, then do something consistently while listeners are at their emotional peak. Neuro-associations have no basis in reality; they may have nothing to do with what actually goes on. Like Pavlov's dog, a listener hears the bell associated with imagery so often that when he or she experiences the neuro-associative anchor, it evokes specific imagery even if there is no basis for it.

This is what advertisers have done with the mass audience for years—by repeating a message after creating an emotional situation. Feel sexy, drive a Chevrolet, drink a beer, have a party and friends, carry a gun, be a man. Feel sympathy, think of Jews. Feel hatred, think of Nazis. There are also visual neuro-conditioning elements: the new Coca-Cola commercial uses flashing symbols to subconsciously condition messages behind images of the bottle of Coca-Cola. The listener or viewer eventually becomes subconsciously inculcated with the propagandist's message and exhibits the correct response based on

primary motivations that are unrelated to the message itself. Abstracted, the process for psychological inculcation through advertising involves these steps:

1. Choose the target group and determine its common motivating forces.
2. Choose the target attitude to modify in the audience.
3. Choose the target response the audience is expected to exhibit.
4. Develop associations between target attitude and target response.
5. Develop the message using determined associations and create neuro-associative anchors.

When repetition is high, intensity can be low. This is the main principle of advertising. When intensity is high, repetition can be low. This is the main principle of ritual defamation. When both repetition and intensity are high, this is brainwashing, or conditioning.

These are the techniques used to change people's emotional states, cause feeling shifts, and create associations that would otherwise not exist. Whatever we associate with a situation in our nervous system will determine our behavior. Television advertising has become one large exercise in mass neuro-association. The differences between propaganda, advertising, and marketing have become indistinct, because all utilize similar persuasion techniques. *Marketing* is the strategy for selling an idea. *Advertising* encompasses the tactics used to promote the idea. And *propaganda* refers to tactics used to promote political ideas.

> To take control back, the inculcated must identify and break the embedded neuro-associations. This kind of personal discovery will allow them to avoid the pain that has been anchored and associated with the debilitating emotional response.

Propagandists and other media spin doctors manipulate and direct public opinion with precision and power. They use role models and prestigious figures to accelerate pace of propaganda, and to destroy the enemy's role models.

Israel's Propaganda War in the United States

The overwhelming effort to mold U.S. political and social ideas does not stem exclusively from Israel. It is pre-propaganda, not propaganda in the strict sense. The preceding discussion attempted to show the fallacy of scientific marketing assertions that claim there is a sociological imperative for mass-mediated antisocial messages to support consumerism. The claim is not, and never has been, verified. Furthermore, the hypotheses for this research have since been discredited. The worrisome situation in which the United States finds itself is that pre-propaganda of consumerism does not have to be negative or antisocial, but the pre-propaganda of political conspiracy does, and that the prevalent pre-propaganda is manufactured in support of political agendas, not consumerism. Conscious decisions have been made in the media to choose only the paths of antisocial inculcation, which allow for the critical work of pre-propaganda to be done under the guise of commercialism rather than politics. So while we can say that the bulk of pre-propaganda is not strictly designed to support Israeli propaganda, it is definitely political pre-propaganda, and very few foreign powers are in a position to take advantage of the situation.

The strategy of Israel's conspiracy is to attempt to control and to exert as much force as possible on specific human social factors known to have powerful effects on individual and mass psyches. These factors are the power accumulated by any critical mass of social activity. Hence, the power of governing bodies, religious organizations, and educational systems become the major target areas for propaganda efforts. Use of the media is the main weapon employed in all areas. The "bullets" of the media are forged in the marketing and advertising psychology furnaces and rely on huge bodies of audience research. We must keep in mind, though, that research and interpretation are both mass mediated.

In the area of race, a number of themes stand out. The three most vociferous propaganda initiatives are (1) the drive to promote the necessity of a positive relationship with Israel in the public at large; (2) the drive to inculcate Jewish-Americans who would otherwise not tolerate the brutality of the Israel regime; and (3) the continuing campaign to project the image of the German enemy, the demonized fear and terror as personified by Adolph Hitler. The elements of these

propagandist efforts are described in detail in chapter 8, "American Society."

The methodology for religious propaganda focuses efforts on ridicule and a sort of visual blasphemy. Christianity is regularly subjected to mass-mediated expositions of pedophile priests, sadistic nuns, murders in churches, vampires, and the like. Portrayals of Islam and other major religions follow identifiable stereotypes as well. The media imagery of Judaism alone is respected. This subject is discussed more fully in chapter 7, "Religion."

Israel's strategic methodology for inserting propaganda into the educational system is to entwine pro-Israel personnel into the national education central bureaucracy. The tactic is to control the image of Jews in school curriculums, and to promote images of the Jewish intellectual, German/Nazi/Arab enemies, jaundiced World War II portrayals, and the revised version of history to support Israel's claims and justify actions.

Israel has an enormous propaganda infrastructure in the United States through its control or near-control of a wide array of media. The next chapter presents an overview of U.S. media and points out many of the common techniques to extort control of public opinion as a cover, a justification, for political activity in Congress and the military-intelligence communities.

Clearly, the Israeli propaganda that builds on this base does so seamlessly, using the same triggers and methods. The base targets are social issues and the mechanisms of race, religion, and education. The main tool of the modern Israeli propagandist is the U.S. media.

[1] Kellen 1973, p. v.

[2] Sorensen 1968, p. 3.

[3] Sorensen 1968, p. 3.

[4] Sorensen 1968, p. 12.

[5] Sorensen 1968.

[6] Karen Dovring (1959) lists the following categories of communication channels: "...architecture, paintings, and sculpture,...printed matter, newspapers, maps, books,

magazines, periodicals, brochures, leaflets, cartoons, charts, tables, letters, novels, short stories, biographies, hymns, poetry, drama, performances of dancing and worship, music, notes, exhibits, newsreels, news conferences, rumors...meetings and demonstrations with all their flags, anthems, buttons, emblems, banners, placards, bills, and posters."

[7] Garrett 1994.

[8] Darnovsky et al. 1989.

[9] Ellul 1973. Much of Ellul's historical derivation of propaganda is condensed by Konrad Kellen in the introduction.

[10] Ellul 1973, p. 4.

[11] Ellul 1973, p. xi.

[12] Holsti 1967, p. 249.

[13] Holsti 1967, p. 249.

[14] Darnovsky et al. 89.

[15] Ellul 1973, p. 73–74.

[16] Ellul 1973, p. 74.

[17] From Darnovsky et al. 1989, p. 8.

[18] Doob 1935.

[19] Summarized from Doob (1935, pp. 413–17).

[20] Ellul 1973, p. 11.

[21] Ellul 1973, p. xvii.

[22] Ellul 1973, p. 63.

[23] Ellul 1973, pp. 71–72.

[24] Ellul 1973, p. 79.

[25] Ellul 1973, p. 79.

[26] Lasswell et al. 1968, p. 177.

[27] George 1959, p. vii: description of content made from Nazi propaganda in World War II.

4. The Mass Media

The power of news to society lies in the fact that there are commercial pressures to remove social significance from standard American news.

Ben Bagdikian 1990, p. 214

It is not an exaggeration to say that the future of modern society and the stability of its inner life depend in large part on the maintenance of an equilibrium between the strength of the techniques of communication and the capacity of the individual's own reaction.

Pope Pius XII in 1950

In the previous chapters we explored the methodologies of propaganda and touched on many areas of social control that are strengthened, reinforced, and enhanced by the new mass-mediated information vehicles. Radio and television, the most significant and powerful media known to man, have only been extant in the last century. Everyone has access to at least one local central point of information, whether it is the radio channel, television station, or social programs that help to determine the form of our characteristically twentieth century political opinions. The United States had a 300 percent saturation of radio by 1970, meaning that on the average, every household had three radios. By 1990, television sets were saturated to almost 200 percent. Cable and satellite have increased the range and coverage of radio, telephone, and television availability to the point of realizing the global village.

The question is what kind of information do we get from the ubiquitous mass media? Is it good information, or just good presentation devoid of content? Today's state-of-the-art information processing technology has a pervasive influence on all media forms, and consequently, on all political decisions. As the major news services compete in terms of minutes and seconds to report a news event first, more news reaches more people through more channels, at faster speeds, and in greater volume, than ever before.

At its core, the media define organized determination to communicate a specific set of ideas to a wide group of listeners. In this way, armies have for millennia trained soldiers by presenting combat methods, using a "mass-mediating" force—the podium or forum—to communicate. Alphabets and inscribed stone tablets were once state-of-the-art mass media. Before that, alliances were "sacred" trusts cemented with family bonds, tribal rituals, and religious beliefs. This social communication period is historically referred to as the time of the verbal or oral tradition, a rich legacy of handed-down stories and wisdom. Much early written history involved recording the oral tradition.

The need to communicate moved ahead, however, and was aided now and again by men organized under oaths of allegiance to an idea. Concepts of government evolved from family and city-state relationships of this nature. Painting, theater, and music evolved as the media of relaxation, and the medium of the pulpit enforced morality. Gutenberg is associated with the convergence of social needs and medieval technologies to allow for printing presses and the resulting widespread dissemination of complex social ideas. This innovation alone accelerated social trends in education and research-based (rather than the usual "experience-based) learning.

What Does *the Media* Mean?

The media. We use the term freely now, as if it has a meaning that everyone can understand. The word *media* was recast in the twentieth century for its primary usage, the business components of mass communication that use electric and electronic means to transmit their information over long distances to large audiences: "the means of communication, as radio, television, newspapers, and magazines, with wide reach and influence."

The mass media relay the main components of the mass-mediated message. They are used to transmit audible, visual, and audiovisual information. Audible media transmit sound—the cadence, pitch, tone, and volume of the human voice found in amplified and unamplified speech, radio, and telephony, and the characteristics of nonvoice sounds. Visual includes any printed medium (from posters and billboards through newspapers, magazines, books, and the like).

Audiovisual includes those media that incorporate both audible and visual: slide shows, cinema, and television. Propagandists may be expected to use all of these media, depending on the scope and duration of their activity.

With the expansion of the electronic global village since 1950, U.S. public opinion about foreign countries has relied almost exclusively on international news as reported by a handful of networks and wire services. The relationship between news reportage and public opinion of U.S. foreign policy demands that we periodically assess the private enterprise version of mass media on the democratic process.

What Is *News*?

The value of the media is in their enormous capacity to transmit news. The observations we make when observing propaganda in the mass media concern the quality of the news presentation. When is news "good news," in the sense that it is well reported, accurate, and complete? Four criteria help to create a scheme for determining the quality of news: verifiability, believability, credibility, and reliability.[2] In addition, though, we have to consider the kinds of information we perceive as news. We will refer to the single major distinction in information as being between hard news and soft news.

Hard news may be defined as news of consequence and of importance, which involves the decisions of officials involved in the political processes. It is news that attempts to state the workings of government at the local, national and international levels. Its primary characteristics are that it is timely or of immediate consequence, and that it is reported spontaneously. It is the daily record of the course of both spontaneous and organized events recorded primarily for the purpose of informing an audience about the event. Traditionally, objectivity has been a criterion for distinguishing between information and propaganda, the latter being understood as a lack of objectivity, or the projection of a bias. Objectivity, difficult to maintain in the dynamics of event reportage, equates to zero bias and represents an ideological standard for high-quality news reportage. It is a mythological belief structure that relies on the additional myth of the complete and unfailing honesty of the person describing the news event. Manipulation of hard news is often

a target of propaganda, because the hard news forum is the primary channel of political and social legitimacy.

On the local level, hard news is concerned with events that are of proximate interest to the audience. Hence, crime news, which monitors the ability of local law officials to enforce laws, is hard news, since it gives the reader indications as to the state of safety and well-being promulgated by officials and their policies. Also, information about city politics, budgeting, expenditures, graft and corruption, and city projects, such as road repair and snow removal, is all local hard news. Its outer perimeter is the state boundary. National hard news is of the same genre, except that it is primarily concerned with information of consequence and importance at the national level. It is concerned with federal officials and their decisions on issues of related importance, such as national budgeting, national political campaigns and projects, and legal concerns of national scope and interest. International hard news is information about other countries, or about relationships of official interest between the United States and other countries.

In general terms, the best way to describe *soft news* is to say that it is comprised of all information that is not hard news. It subdivides into entertainment, such as feature stories, editorials, sports broadcasts, classified ads, movies, cartoons, and advertising.

Editorial soft news describes an event as interpreted and commented on by an editor. Newspaper editorial pages, and radio and television editorial comments express the opinions of syndicated columnists and talk show hosts, an occasional concerned citizen, and spokespersons for special interest groups. Objectivity is not a criterion for editorial news, and the factors of believability, reliability, verifiability, and credibility vary considerably in individual interpretation. The value of news as editorial is more in the expression of opinion than in the expression of fact.

Advertising is soft news that forms the money-generating mechanism of commercial mass media. Producers tell consumers about new products, special features, and discounts, and the consumer is thereby informed. Advertising is about the marketplace of products, where ideas are sold without concern for information standards. Advertisers

are increasingly interested in the context of their ads in the medium—the surrounding articles in newspapers and magazines and the type of broadcast program in which their commercials are inserted. An advertisement for a sable fur coat next to an article on world starvation is not the most effective association for making a sale. Thus, both the "quality" of an audience and the nonadvertising content around the ads have become dominant in the thinking of major advertisers. Not surprisingly, those factors have consequently become dominant in the thinking of owners of newspapers, magazines, and broadcast stations.

In *soft feature news* or *documentaries*, news is similar to editorial opinion in that personal opinions or agendas are often expressed. The feature carries information that is less immediate and often less political than hard news. Today's highly structured newspaper rarely prints news from sources outside the news community, but when it does, the story is generally presented as a special feature report. A good example of a news feature story is the "week in review" type of story, where the information presented is a recapitulation of the events of the week; new or spontaneous information is not presented in feature stories. Modern society depends on mass media channels as sources of news, just as it depends on modern means of transportation to travel, and telephone for instantaneous global voice communication.

Advertising, Subliminal Information, and Mass Persuasion

Sex and violence, fear and death, fighting and eating, selective respect and scorn for selected political and social ideas—these form the psychological basis of persuasive tactics.[3] To understand the motivating forces in the media is to unmask this duplicity by examing the overt messages and known entities, and exploring the deliberately embedded and subconsciously perceived messages hidden therein.[4]

A significant amount of assumption is built into the argument that all subliminal suggestions have their fully intended effects, or any effects at all. The methods used to determine effectiveness of subliminal techniques are as error-prone as the techniques investigated. Deliberately false studies to manufacture credibility of a subliminal technique would not be a new deception in the advertising world.

Users of any media form must always approach the subject warily, as if approaching a dangerous animal. Still, the issue remains that advertisers think that by subliminally embedding the word "sex" into an ad, users will not only automatically assimilate the message, but also will also have uniform comprehension and reaction to the message. Marketing spin doctors overcome the significant leaps in the logic of their techniques by presenting behavioral psychology as the bridge between the subliminal intention in an advertisement, and the actual perception and consequent reaction in the viewer.

A couple of points must be made with respect to subliminal advertising and persuasion. Advertisers continue to believe in the effectiveness of their techniques and invest heavily in them, flooding the media with a racy soup of subliminal messages. Another is that the actual effect of any message is completely unpredictable in the intended audience. Finally, overlapping mass-mediated messages do mark a place in the cultural landscape, whether perceived consciously or not, and whether received positively or not by the audience. Still, the intended effect is to associate or anchor emotional significance to a propagated event.[5]

The primary expectation communicated by subliminal advertising is sexual fulfillment. Ads in the women's periodicals focus almost exclusively on sex, escape, and food. Men's magazines focus on sex, escape, power, dominance, and status—most of which, as in the women's media, ties back to sex. A typical television viewer sees nearly 14,000 instances of sexual material annually.[6]

Researchers claim to have confirmed a great number of the effects of subliminal advertising. When referring to "subliminal stimuli on human behavior," purchasing behavior is of primary concern.[7] Purchasing behavior is acceptance of an advertising message as true, and then acting upon a need that is in concert with the message. This is true in both product and political advertising. Purchasing behavior is considered the most exhaustively researched area of human behavior in the Western world. "Media advertisements have two simple, measurable objectives—to increase the number of consumers for their products and to increase the quantities they consume."[8] Purchasing behavior is unconsciously a part of ideological, political, and other

social behaviors. Very little in the world of perception is isolated from the rest of what is going on in life.

Advertising often presents both the audience's need for a product, and the product's strengths and benefits. Slow tachistoscopic cuts to plant an emotional predisposition, subliminal induction devices that manipulate light levels, words (for example, sex or hate) embedded into photographs, sound levels to include subliminal messages, and subvisually enhanced papers all represent subliminal techniques used by advertisers of products and political subjects alike.[9]

This line between conscious information and that recorded unconsciously has been termed the perceptual threshold. The threshold constantly changes in response to physiological tension, prior cultural conditioning, incoming stimuli content, attitudes, and a variety of other factors. This imaginary line between conscious and unconscious varies from individual to individual. The threshold is also affected by cultural indoctrination.[10]

How do the media change our physiological states? The answer is more apparent than you may realize. Scientists describe the effects of subliminal stimuli as changes in blood flow to the muscles and brain, changes in peripheral blood flow to the blood vessels and digestive organs, increases in the rate of heartbeat, and dissipation of heat generated by muscle activity. We can readily interpret these symptoms by observing or recalling our own reactions to horror films: physiological symptoms as a reaction to what we have viewed.

Negative emotions, such as doubt, fear, guilt, resentment, and envy, represent few of the fifty-five or so negative emotions in the psychology textbooks. The media have made a significant research effort to identify, study, differentiate, name, class, and group them, and to identify specific characteristics of each.

Behaviors usually considered drive-related include such physiological needs as hunger, thirst, sex, comfort, and maternity. Drives have been extended to include social need systems, such as territoriality, greed, social acceptance, security, and aggression, which derive from survival needs. Some behaviors are well known, heavily researched and tested for specific kinds of responses.

Repression is usually accompanied by reaction formation, the willful tendency to repress the unacceptable by manifesting the opposite. Undoing or correcting involves the use of ritual behaviors, such as prayer or penitence to magically undo a forbidden wish, desire, feeling, or act. Isolation is the act of avoiding associations that invoke anxieties, guilt, depression, or other threatening feelings. Regression is rejection of a perceived reality in favor of a simplified fantasy based on reinterpretation of past events. Fantasy formation is the creation of and belief in idealized models, such as developing world fantasies of freedom of the press as they expect and fantasize it to be practiced in the United States. Fantasy also takes the form of racial, cultural, ethnic, and social stereotypes held by individuals or societies. Sublimation involves substituting one behavior for another, or channeling energy into more personally or socially acceptable activities. The classic example is taking a cold shower to relieve sexual frustration. Denial is rendering an unpleasant situation as nonexistent. Projection is placing responsibility or blame on another. Introjection is the act of unconsciously turning in upon oneself the responsibility for evil thoughts, unacceptable feelings, or distrust or contempt for others: blaming the self.

For the past thirty years, Israel has been intensively sold to the mass media consumer as a commodity. Like soap, toothpaste, and cereal, Americans have been inculcated with an intimate familiarity of Israel and the unquestioning nature of our military and financial support:

> ...the United States population...is the most exhaustively propagandized society ever to exist.... The perceived "free, educated, intelligent, civilized" populations of the world now provide the greatest danger to world survival. They are, generally, unaware of the extent to which they are manipulated, managed, and conditioned by the media, governments, leaders, and institutions that serve the vested interests of their political-social-economic systems. Vested interests and ruling elite's appear a constant throughout the known evolution of human societies—perhaps the only constant in social organizations. In technologically advances societies, the major instrument for the manu-

> facture of reality perceptions is the mass communication industry. In the United States these media reflect the reality perceptions of corporate executives and ideologically compatible institutions. Their collective self-interests become culturally integrated, blindly or unconsciously accepted by audiences as reality perceptions.[11]

Neurotica and Television as Disinformation

Positive or negative images of international news coverage on U.S. carriers can be delivered, packaged, and purchased. The economic corollary is that countries that do not pay the coverage management fees leave themselves open to the U.S. media's own interpretation of events, an interpretation more under the control of Israel than of the U.S. government.

Today in the media, generally, what is portrayed as being believed is merely a mechanical function of who can spend the most currency for the most publicity. One of the best books on this subject is *The Image*, published more than thirty years ago by Daniel Boorstin, the Librarian of Congress. Boorstin makes a distinction between being famous and being well known. We could further differentiate "popularity" and a host of other routine characterizations which the media enhance. Television, though, is definitely the most readily assimilable, sensually stereoscopic, perceptually multifaceted, personally invasive and attention-getting medium we have ever experienced.

Nothing has been more generous in describing social problems than the wizard behind the fourth pillar of twentieth century U.S. democracy: television. While programs draw ludicrous caricatures of real life and emphasize the extremes of human behavior and social conduct, commercials, integrated into the shows, draw on the gathered audience attention to increase viewer knee-jerk responses. The televised commercials' need for Americans to have problems has created a genre of sales techniques, which can be called "neurotica."

The psychological techniques by which commercials demand our attention are delivered in rhetoric that points to perceived shortcomings: our hair needs to be shinier, our dentures and teeth brighter, our cars

newer, our beer more manly. If a neurosis can be created and implanted in the consciousness of the viewer, it is easier to sell the product that claims to cure the neurosis.

Commercial examples of neurotica are endless. Program examples also abound, especially in programs directed toward teenagers, the largest and most susceptible market. Neurotica includes appeals to enhanced masculinity (all of the commercial content you see during televised sports), greater social acceptance (women's and teenagers' programming), and greater enjoyment (commercial programming directed towards children).

Significant social research contributes to the discovery of new trends along these lines. Neurotica—the research that supports it and the problems it creates—is inimical to healthy society. Neurotica in the news is inimical to healthy government.

To say that becoming media literate means remembering that innocuous ideas can be destructive misses the whole point of the problem with television. Simply being aware, in some vague way, that television warps the social norm is no solution to the problems that television generates and perpetrates. Awareness doesn't tell you what to do next. It doesn't tell postwar baby boomers and their families how to fill evening hours that they have never had to face without television.

Television has taken the lead in creating social reality. It has usurped the "socialness" required by a healthy democratic culture. We no longer know our neighbors, participate in the social clubs of pretelevision days, or participate in church gatherings. PTAs get nowhere near the attendance of television from the same audience. The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts—once known for promoting a healthy social atmosphere, environmental awareness, a love of the outdoors, and personal achievement—have become anachronisms in the television society.

Not only do the neurotica-laden situations portrayed on the tube have an unreal scenario, they also have unnaturally bright colors when compared to the "real world." A tree on television has a flashing, uniform electronic brilliance as a by-product of the physics of the medium: exploding phosphors give a representation of the tree that both abstracts the real thing and adds to the abstraction. You cannot sense trees from

television; you can't smell them, touch them, or feel the tranquility that their real presence creates. Television gives no sense of the forest as one of the great ecological communities of the planet. But it can clearly portray the neuroses of the ecology movement, which fights to get a real message across to the viewing public in even the smallest way. Neurotica can easily pit the spotted owl against the logger in the form of the neurosis of bleeding hearts. The message is profoundly different from the real problem.

Television creates its own version of reality—that's the message. It creates a shallow understanding, stilted towards fringe situations that become more like real life through imitation by viewers. The cart leads the horse.

The psychological side effect of too much television viewing is a dimming of reality's overall effect and its colors. We don't sit quietly and stare in one direction without moving as the real world flashes and pulses by in explosions of phosphorescence, as we do with television. However, we do sit and wonder why society doesn't understand the relevance of environmental destruction. We sit and wonder, and take no action, just like watching television. There is no response to television. The side effect is loss of social aptitude.

The physical side effect of too much television is poor eyesight: focus adjustment problems, resolution problems, and so forth. These maladies were not discovered by advertisers attempting to determine the harmful effects of television. Rather, they came about with the rise of personal computers in the workplace, and the rising number of white-collar workers who suffer from various forms of eyestrain. Computer users watch lots of television—that is, their computer monitors—but few of the "programs" they "watch" are filled with the fine art of neurotica found in commercial television.

Television wasn't created to fill a void in society. It usurped a place in society by sexually and violently demanding attention. The constant fare of local violent crime neurotica keeps people off their own streets at night, reinforcing the easy television drug. Why risk life and health by going outside when television can make life just as exciting, with less effort. Television doesn't tell us that most of our neighborhoods

are safe and quiet. We might risk going out more often, when we should be home watching television. We might find better things to do than grow old in front of the stilted reality imagined by television writers and happy news teams, interspersed with flowering commercial neurotica.

Part of the solution, yes, is to create socially relevant programming. Another avenue is to create a home or school environment that recognizes television by its neurotic prototypes.

Much can be done in the schools to teach children about the television neurotica that reinforces the "buying mood," and the habit of gluttonous consumption. The schools are having a hard enough time, however, promoting basic reading and writing skills. Do we really want schools to devote more time to television than the three to five hours per day that children already get outside the classroom? And can the schools really be expected to keep up with the latest and greatest in advertising market research, designed to pry open ever newer neurotica? Hardly. The schools can't even keep up with the latest and greatest in education research. Drug abuse education can't even keep up with the serious consequences of addiction, let alone the crime.

Our question should not really be what should we do *about* television? because there is very little that we can do directly. We should certainly continue to write letters to television stations and lawmakers and demand that more of one thing or another be done. But we are not in the business of telling television how to run itself. If the media barons can figure out so much about neurotica, they should be able to figure out what we really want—and need—from the media.

Marshall McCluhan described projections as "Narcissus Narcosis." As we perceive endless media involvement, we unconsciously project and identify with heroes against villains.[12] More on television later.

Networks

Networks have been in place in the history of humans since early in oral tradition, some 30,000 years or more ago. We know from traditions handed down to early written records that these ties bound families and included highly elaborate ceremonial rituals and oaths.

Men were reputed by their word(s). Their blood ties, as fundamental a network as creation itself, was recognized as the unbroken trail from their earliest history to the present day—signatures of all ancient ancestors on the innermost human organizational parchment. From early network tradition came the organizational skill to create workforces and armies, and build ships and cities. Much has become lore and ritual. The concept of networks, from rudimentary human communication to information switchboards such as computers, is ancient and integral to human activity.

In 1990, Bagdikian noted that despite more than 25,000 electronic media outlets in the United States (that is, radio and television broadcasting stations; newspaper, magazine, and book printers; and cable television carriers), fewer than two dozen corporations controlled most daily newspapers, magazines, television programs, books, motion pictures, and video outlets.[13] "Market dominant" corporations have enormous influence over the news, information, public ideas, popular culture, and political attitudes that are expressed in the mass media and distributed by worldwide interconnected networks. Bagdikian described dominant news information conglomerates that were attempting to increase their control of related resources by coercing specific, beneficial legislation from Congress. The power to "treat some subjects briefly and obscurely but others repetitively and in depth, or to take initiatives unrelated to external events" shows where network ownership interests most effectively influence news. Three corporations, his statistics show, control more than half the nation's 11,000 magazines, from production through distribution.[14]

Looking at the international network, Bagdikian accurately noted that industrial democracies generally had more concentrated network ownership than the United States. Other developed countries have important international, national, and local network infrastructures. Most host a dozen or more national newspapers, headquartered in the national capital, that carry serious political and economic news. They are available in every locality, and—crucially important—each competing national paper is different in its political and economic orientation. Readers have a real choice among the differing papers, in which a wide spectrum of public issues is aired and debated and can

thus enter the national discourse.[15] He notes that "the deeper social loss of gigantism in the media is not in its unfair advantage in profits and power, but in the resulting censorship of political and social ideas, in news, magazine articles, books, broadcasting, and movies.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in news related to Israel. While some intervention by owners is direct and blunt, most news screening is subtle, as when employees conform to corporate ideas.[16]

But almost all the media have "friends" who are given preferential treatment in the news, who are immune to criticism, who can keep out embarrassing information, or who are guaranteed a positive image. In the newsrooms of the United States, these friends are called "sacred cows." They frequently include the owner, the owner's family and friends, major advertisers, and the owner's political causes. Israel does not directly control the U.S. media. Instead, it attempts to manipulate or control the owners of the media.

Television made mass marketing a profitable method not only for the sale of products, but also of political and social ideas. It produces public opinion with extraordinary uniformity. Many writers have noted that with more than 1,000 television stations in the country, the content of national and international news and opinion has become interchangeable among stations and networks. When ABC, NBC, and CBS dominated the network medium, they were often caricatured as not three different networks, but one network in triplicate.[17]

Bagdikian noted in the 1970s that the nonadvertising content of daily newspapers had changed dramatically. This change was a result of the proliferation of networked sources of information, from weather reports to syndicated opinions to national events and pseudo-events. Instead of the civic focus on local, state and national government project and spending issues, education, labor, or finance (aside from Wall Street), the new, redesigned newspaper had increased instead the publishing of "puzzles and horoscopes, comics, nonlocal human interest and lifestyle articles, business and finance, and crime."[18] This phenomenon was manifested in other electronic information forums as well. News distribution is no longer designed for individual towns and cities. While U.S. politics is organized on the basis of urban and

rural political boundaries, the media have organized on the basis of 210 television markets. As a result, the fit between the country's information needs and its information media has become disastrously disjointed, and is now more suited to distribution of entertainment and directed propaganda.[19]

In the United States network news carries syndicated and local political shows or columns, which have grown to become, without exception, energetically pro-Israel and anti-Arab. No medium—radio, television, or newspaper—carried a columnist who was the counterpart of the prevailing syndicated opinions. Expression of explicit or sharp opinion has been restrained in most areas of network-transmitted news, while sensational news pseudo-events have increased to provide sharpness to imagery. News consumers are presumed to be affluent and educated, and people who can be persuaded to purchase advertised products, but with a primitive and disinterested understanding of political and social relationships. Newspapers began carrying a variety of political columns, but none, right or left, strayed very far from centrist positions and none was permitted to stress anti-Israel ideas. Although neutralizing the news has made newspapers more efficient carriers of advertising, it has produced social sterility and silence on fundamental forces behind major news events.

Networks have been so successful in delivering and controlling the delivery of information and propaganda through aggressive media techniques that now every part of the world is subjected to the idea management resulting from computer and satellite network control. Networks deliver to the world the programming content for radio and television. The centralization of information sources through control of networks promotes manipulation of information flow to larger audiences with more consistency.

Print and Radio Propaganda Efforts

From the beginning of the twentieth century through 1960, the mass media penetration of U.S. households was significant for newspapers, books, news magazines, and radio. Newspaper reading was still the main source of authoritative news of record. But the social landscape was changing quickly. Disappearing from the scene was the importance

of newspaper. Radio was a much more mobile medium—much more portable, immediate, and accessible—to the news-gathering public. The ability to read was not a prerequisite to understanding current events broadcast over radio. And even though the proliferation of books continued on the scale of an avalanche as printing techniques gained speed from technological innovations, the number of newspaper readers was in decline. This trend gained momentum even as the buying power of the post–baby boom generation grew into the print media markets.

The pervasive nature of the mass media has not been confined to the United States, or even to the industrial and affluent nations. A growing centralization of the resources of information distribution has led to a worldwide revolution in the propagation of news events and the social, cultural, and political ideas that shape the global society:

> Western techo-electro-culture has been so successful in developing "invading media technologies" that now every part of the world has been subjected to the same universal influences. This means that there is not a person from any geographical area whose cultural influence is separate from the canopy of information overload, nor from the "idea homogenization" resulting from such tools as the computer-satellite environment as it melds the planet into a single organic electronic conscious-mind.[20]

Newspaper

There is something about flipping through the local paper that requires a comfortable habit. You can fold it up and take it on the bus to find out what's going on in your town. Newspaper provided the context, the explanations, and the fine print. Today, newspapers have gone into the entertainment business, dismissing serious reporting as a luxury they can no longer afford. Yet there is something amiss here. Why are all the journalists in Washington?

Newspapers in the United States originated as weekly newsletters. Like their predecessors in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe,

they were essentially mouthpieces for local gossip. The details of their history as the preeminent medium of mass communication in eighteenth and nineteenth century America, chronicled in American history classes in journalism and mass media schools throughout the universities, will not be reiterated here. Having played significant roles in the development of the U.S. political system and its advocates, newspapers fell victim, in the mid-1900s, to the new medium, radio, and its ability to portray news with greater immediacy. Newspapers had become codified and legitimized as the primary means for conveying official information to the newly discovered mass audience.

Newspapers have been heavily politicized as a matter of historical routine. The kinds of suppression that the first amendment attempted to control were essentially the work of a group or clan, typically a religious group. So highly were newspapers regarded as purveyors of official information that the use of the term "the press" became synonymous with the transmission of information across mass media channels, even well into the advent of television. The importance of a "free" press (a newspaper not printed or funded by a government) became codified into libertarian and social responsibility theories and philosophies of mass communication. Even while the magnanimous theories were being identified and prepared, though, political and economic events were reshaping the institutional press, and the codified notions were being superseded.

Libertarian and social responsibility theories suggested that the press developed with a chief purpose to inform, entertain, sell, apply a check to the power of government, and raise conflict to the plane of discussion.[21] The press likes to claim that anyone with something to say can use the press; in reality, it is the authoritarian model that holds here, and anyone with the economic means to use the press is the one with a voice. Similarly, control of the press was assumed to be a self-righting process governed by the "free marketplace of ideas," as well as community opinion, and the professional ethics of the journalistic community.

The New York Times and *The Washington Post* are often singled out as flagship U.S. newspapers, reputed to carry on traditions of ethical and moral reporting. They have, in the past, had sizeable

domestic and international staffs. They are still read by nearly as extensive an audience in the journalism industries, including newsmen and government officials, and they also have wide, if declining, readership among the political and social elite. Their reputation for energetic and thorough coverage has quietly gone by the wayside, a victim of industrywide budget cutting and a desire to maximize profits.

Today the image of the press is much different, and its role in democratic processes is largely supplanted by larger information networks. The right of other voices of dissension to use the press has been completely replaced by the syndicated opinions of journalists who share nearly uniform political opinions.

Newspaper is and has been the business vehicle for journalists, and aside from letters and books, it is an old form of the political art. The practitioners of the news writing, once priests and scribes, have given way to the scribes now marketing their services to the new priests, the media owners. Journalism matures as a politically manipulable syndrome of syndicated opinion and special interests. Satellite technology expands radio and television and throws an electronic net around the globe for nearly instantaneous information, voice, and video recognition.

Earlier in the century, journalists saw themselves as somehow honor-bound to report only an objective truth. As the mantle of public authority passed to television news anchor persons, so did the tradition. But television, too, had its own agenda. In the tradition of strong, brave men of World War II came the haggard journalist, struggling to understand and describe unfolding events; the romance of reporting from exotic places and reporting the truth soon became rancid parodies.

Journalists now seem to have a new authority, a shadow of their former selves, as the hirelings of foreign or other special interests. *The New York Times* created its own reputation as a newspaper of national repute, because it was the first with national distribution. Its ownership, image, and messages cater to the New York Jewish population, and its actions and stands also reflect the readership. Its critics are the incredibly stunted marginalized press and alternative media.[22]

The New York Times Magazine cover story of October 29, 1989, "Inside the Intifada," was written by the same Joel Brinkley who writes all the significant Middle Eastern news. He is the Times bureau chief in Jerusalem. How does one rise to this honor? He's Jewish and, no doubt, an intellectual. The tone of his article conveys his intent. Palestinians live in towns or refugee camps, but not in ghettos or concentration camps. They live lives of brutality and humiliation at the hands of trigger-happy Israeli settlers, but they aren't tortured. They might randomly lose water, electricity, schools, food, jobs, houses, windows, relatives, money, or livelihood, but they aren't abused. And through it all, in the words of Brinkley, they still willingly leave their land, abandon it to settlers—"...and that's how Bitar Ilit [a Jewish settlement] acquired its land. Husan residents abandoned it for better paying jobs in Israel." Some Palestinians are college educated, and they kill each other by the dozens. Brinkley carries the regular overtone of the liberal Jewish intellectual, deeply concerned and sensitive, yet he is careful to shift the blame for Israeli brutality to the Palestinians themselves.

The Pulitzer Prize is a heavily politicized award for journalistic achievement. The Pulitzer Prize winner is a euphemism for a media-applauded political voice, a newspaper journalist who is politically correct and expected to provide the lead in describing news events. *New York Times* columnist A. E. Rosenthal, who called for tougher U.S. actions against the governments of Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Syria, is one such recipient.

Nixon was particularly unhappy about *The New York Times*. "It is funny about Nixon: He rants and raves about the Jews, and they control the press and they this and they that. He was the best friend Israel ever had. And he had Bill Safire working for him." Safire, who is Jewish, was a Nixon speechwriter. He is now a columnist for *The New York Times*. "There was considerable discussion of the terrible problem arising from the total Jewish domination of the media and agreement that this is something that would have to be dealt with," Haldeman was heard saying. "The Rev. [Billy] Graham has the strong feeling that the Bible says that there are satanic Jews and that's where our problem arises."[23]

A total of 7,142 journalists are accredited to cover the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. Since there are 100 senators and 435 members of the House, that works out to 71 journalists for every senator and 16 reporters for every House member.[24] But the national scene remains only marginally covered in daily newspapers.

News Magazines

Many scholars have attempted to describe how the U.S. media, in one or another of its various forms, portrays Arabs.[25] The targets for scrutiny have been the audiovisual entertainment media, television and cinema. Entertainment, however, is not the only source of Arab imagery. The news, in all its forms, has become a powerful tool for building and reinforcing stereotypes and attitudes. The political consequence of news sets the tone for ethnic representations in the entertainment media.

U.S. attitudes on the Middle East are developed as a subset of the news, and mainstream news about the Middle East comes from three sources. The first source is the wire services, so homogeneous in their versions of news that the same event is often covered largely the same way, with the same set of facts and opinions. They serve television news at the international level, as well as radio and newspapers. All the breaking news about the Middle East is formed and packaged by them.[26]

The second source of U.S. attitudes toward the Middle East comes from syndicated journalists, whose opinions are transmitted over those same wire services.

The third source is largely news magazines, such as *Time* and *Newsweek*. They have their own journalists on location, and their reports are often so similar in content as to carry the same lead story, photo, and nearly identical headlines on many occasions.

Media conglomerates have steadily concentrated their holding of persuasive power across all media forms. The question posed here is should we suspect the images of Israel in newsmagazines to be similar to the content and stereotype of U.S. television and cinema? Put another way, how does the propaganda of news magazines correspond to that of other major U.S. news sources?

The choice of *Time* magazine is not arbitrary. *Time* magazine is a

publication of Time-Warner, the largest media corporation in the world. It has more communicative power than most governments, and has an aggregate worldwide readership of more than 120 million, more than most countries. It is the largest video company in the world, the second largest cable television company, and one of the largest book publishers.[27] *Time* wields significant influence through the images it portrays to the news-reading public.

Time's ethnic imagery on the Middle East is well defined in two characteristically biased articles. The May 27, 1990, issue carried an article on American Jews with their Israeli interests. Palestinians were featured in the July 23, 1990, issue. Outwardly one would expect that the cover story on Palestinians to be sensitive to Palestinian (and Arab) needs and aspirations—to the reasons for the Intifada and to the realities that define their cause. The main subliminal messages concerned themselves with commonly recurring propaganda themes: intelligence and race, ethnicity and appellation, recognition and emotion, and Judaism versus Islam.

Time gives readers an actively reinforced familiarity with Jews as leaders, politicians, and scholars, and through organizational name-dropping.[28] Palestinians remain nameless peasant faces. Refusing recognition and identity to Palestinians as a people is a major Israeli propaganda objective in the U.S. media, the corollary to which is denigration of Arab life and culture whenever possible.

Of the fourteen Jews pictured in the May article, ten are unnamed "Jewish settlers"; the remaining include past and present Israeli prime ministers (with one unnamed person in the background), a rabbi, and an American Jewish spy, all identified by name and activity. With high contextual visibility, Jewish-Americans are identified and distinguished by their organizations.

The article on American Jews was written by an American Jew; July's Palestinian article was written by "senior writer" Lance Morrow who was "assisted" by a Palestinian reporter in the Jerusalem bureau. Morrow had visited Israel six times in the previous two and a half years; the report. Hamad had been in the Jerusalem bureau since 1982.

It is important to note that the byline for the story is Morrow, not Hamad, and that while Hamad is described as a Palestinian, Morrow simply has "painfully divided sympathies." This points to two common trends in both the U.S. media and Israeli propaganda. First, Jews write about Jews and Israel, and second, Arabs don't write.

Along these same lines, there is a sharp distinction made between Arab (in this case Palestinian) and Jewish intelligence.[29] In the article on American Jews, all the Jews mentioned have significant titles and actively engage in activities that suggest "intelligence." They are "scholars" (which can be a euphemism for students or unemployed activists), "professors," and "tough-minded businessmen." The use of referential and condensational symbols is most commonly seen as positive imagery with respect to Jews, and negative imagery with respect to Arabs.[30]

The Palestinian article refers to Palestinians "working as doctors, merchants and engineers." Note that they are not doctors, merchants, or engineers, but rather Palestinians *working as*, a subtle suggestion that they are not really qualified to do what their professional status indicates. The Palestinian professionals—nameless and faceless as a group—received fleeting mention in a passage that ruminated as to whether they would ever return to Palestine if given the chance. In contrast, professionals are quoted for vivid opinions on American Jewry and Israeli politics. *Time*, coincident with other forms of U.S. media forms, regularly brings otherwise obscure Jews to prominence, while Arab-Americans remain completely obscure.

> "I was a nice Jewish girl from Pennsylvania. I'd never seen a heroin addict," she said.[31]

We seldom hear about nice girls of any other nationality. In the movie *The Godfather*, the Italian girl was busy having sex with the best man moments before her wedding. In *Cagney and Lacey*, we discover that the common, struggling feminist, the sensitive and emotional cop-mother-wife, is Jewish. Paperback bookracks bristle with stories of Nazi bad guys. So while nice Jewish girls, nice Jewish mothers, nice Jewish boys are all are common media stereotypes, Italians are criminals and hoodlums, French are romantic idiots, Germans are cold-

blooded killer Nazis, and Arabs—ahistorical and lumped together for an easy racial and political slur—are angry terrorists who torture and mistreat women and children.[32]

Arab is the concatenation of several nationalities by language, similar to how English-speaking people are referred to as "Anglos" in Hispanic slang. Like *Anglo*, *Arab* deprives each separate and distinct nationality of its personal history. In political propaganda, denigration of the enemy's historical significance is an important goal because it reduces the perceived collective worth of the enemy in the minds of the propagandized, making an easier road for concurrent propaganda to "criminalize" them.[33]

On the other hand, we have a differentiation of types of Jews. Aside from religious division into orthodox and reform, cultural distinctions are also made: Polish Jew, Russian Jew, and American Jew. Further, a political differentiation separates Zionists from the mainstream, and language essentially separates Israelis from everyone else. This intensification of significance of one ethnic group, and attendant supportive propaganda in the U.S. media, stands in marked contrast to the concatenated and reduced Arab image.

American Jews are unique in *Time*'s ethnic parlance. They are the only ethnic group for which *American* is an adjective for the ethnicity (the exception being American Indians, a term used to differentiate them from Indians of the Asian subcontinent). It indicates not a type of American, but rather a type of Jew, such as "European Jew." It is not indicative of an American ethnic, and deliberately so: part of the propaganda to which American Jews are subjected by Israeli wartime campaign in the U.S. media is to emphasize Jewish separateness from mainstream Americana. The purpose is to draw Jews closer to Israel as their "real" country, and thereby to solidify, consolidate, and organize support for Israel. *Time* subscribes to the Israeli wartime propaganda line rather than the common American understanding and grammatical representation of ethnicity.

On the other hand, there are Jews in America who say that their appellation of American Jew indicates that despite their relationship with Israel, they are Americans first, and that is why they are called

American Jews rather than Jewish-Americans. This is an advertising or marketing rationale translated into classic wartime propaganda.

The notion that American Jews should be worried about how they are perceived, whether first as Americans or as Jews, remains a dilemma for them as a result of wartime propaganda conceived for the political benefit of Israel and perpetrated by large-scale media, such as *Time*.[34] Jewish "difference" and separateness are a significant part of the overall imagery of Israeli propaganda directed against Jews in the U.S. media.

The idea of American Jews being "more American" or "American first" has usually been set in stark contrast to "Palestinians," where no American allusion holds, and less frequently but more patently, in contrast to "Arab-Americans," nonentities in the U.S. media. The media portray American Jews as "more American" than Arab-Americans, or any other ethnic American. This intensification of positive rhetoric for Jews and Israel at the expense and degradation of other nationalities has fostered what the mainstream media call a "resurgence of anti-Semitism."

Emotional affairs are Jewish affairs. The U.S. media generally, and *Time* in particular, regularly make us aware of Jewish sensitivity, emotion, and family comradeliness.[35] Not with any other nationality in the U.S. media's image lexicon do we have such an array of continuously and exclusively positive expressions of nationality. This is the essence of propaganda generally, and a regular feature of Israel's all-positive Jewish propaganda in the United States.

The title of the May article aptly labels the emotionalized content and sets the stage for the positive depiction of Jews. Jews emote with great sadness. They agonize over their feelings, and have "a real sense of sorrow."

Jews emote, and Arabs do not. The Palestinians fight for honor, and for the "tribal cause," a phrase repeated three times in the Palestinian article. Arabs distrust Palestinians for reasons of honor, "and often treat them worse" than Israelis do. Arabs distrust each other, and hack each other to death; they personally execute other Palestinians. Women weep, but are otherwise unemotional, and we are not led to develop any sort of empathy for them. Palestinians are "their own

accomplished enemies," and as Arabs, continue in their wretched ways for notions of revenge and pageantry.

Palestinians don't agonize; they perform "rituals of grief." They are not the individualized intellectuals with titles of authority, but tribal peasants without names. Of the forty-three Palestinian faces in the July article, not one had a name associated with it; not a single leader was pictured or discussed.

> "Islam is growing strongest in Gaza, where goats forage in the uncollected garbage."

While you may think that the sentence above is reprinted from a high school sophomore's paper because of its unfortunate mix of images, it was the caption for a picture in the Palestine article—a picture of goats grazing in garbage. The obvious problem is the visual-textual connotation of Palestinians foraging in Islam, and goats foraging in uncollected garbage. To use this observation to correct the caption's sentence structure, we have to be magnanimous to *Time*'s editors and writers, and assume that the author did not mean to suggest that Islam grows strongest where goats forage in uncollected garbage, but that Islam grows strongest in Gaza. But then why at all is the notion of grazing in uncollected garbage connected to a sentence about the growth of Islam? If the author intended to suggest that Islam grows strong in spite of official state neglect of sanitation in occupied Gaza, the overall imagery would have been heroic. But Arabs are not heroic in *Time*'s article, and neither is Islam.

Understand, for a moment, that we have already witnessed in the scope of these two short articles the fact that Arabs do not write because they aren't really skilled enough or intellectually oriented enough to do so. They don't have emotions to which Americans can relate, and their sensibilities are concerned with issues of personal chauvinism.

Now, through a crude negative association, we learn that their religion grows strongest under unsanitary conditions, suggesting that high priests of Islam must have mounds of garbage and herds of goats to aid the religious inspiration that fuels the Intifada.

This is not an isolated instance abuse in the U.S. media. Although Islam is the predominant religion among Arabs, Christianity is the predominant U.S. religion, is much more subject to degradation, ridicule, and blasphemy in the name of freedom of the press. Judaism appears to be exempt from mainstream media charges of religious racism, sexism, "unfortunate imagery," and the like. Articles that politicize religion by exploiting racist and sexist themes generally ignore real political problems at the local, regional, states and national levels, and concentrate on sensationalism for its shock value.[36]

Although the reason usually given for media excesses that miss critical issues is that sensationalism sells, another reason lurks. A full-blown propaganda machine, such as is seen in wartime, tends not only to strive to unite followers and potential followers, but also to disunite, confuse, and segregate the opposition. Christianity is a formidable enemy when activated to fight a perceived injustice, as the Central American experience shows. Not only would it threaten Israel in Middle Eastern issues, but it would also possibly affect many national issues.

Time magazine puts significant effort into the appearance of objective coverage and fairness. In the articles mentioned, it was the Palestinians who were on the cover, not the American Jews or their Israeli interests. The Palestinian article was a lengthy ten pages, the American Jews got only two pages. On the surface, *Time* claims a new outlook, a more sympathetic view of the Palestinian problem. Below the superficialities however, nothing has changed for the better in terms of movement towards objectivity in reporting. In fact, things have become worse because the propaganda has become dense with a proliferation of heavily biased and inflammatory phraseology.

Time presents the same pro-Israeli bias that permeates the U.S. media. Drawing on an ever-expanding list of key phrases, repeated with amazing regularity across media forms, we are now faced with a veritable lexicon of phrases and images strung together through the course of virtually every mainstream media article on the Middle East. The extent is so thorough that, if this were fifty years ago and the support was for Germany, Roosevelt would have been alarmed. Beyond giving the superficial impression of fairness or sympathy by having Palestinians on the cover, the magazine reasserts a complex,

unbroken web of word imagery to reinforce the standard pro-Israel and anti-Arab propaganda in the reader's consciousness.

Publishing Houses

Printed publications are where Americans go for in-depth recorded word on news events. Alternative magazines (books of opinion not in line with media themes) and other media forms are not able to gain access to the mainstream distribution channels. This is most evident in the book publishing industry, but it is also significant in the newspaper industry, as any writer of a letter to the editor knows.

Control of distribution networks means that even if a book is published, it may not be distributed. Books with unpopular opinion are purposely left to "die in the warehouse" because distribution through mainstream news distributors (the bookstore and newsstand chains) is not granted. Prices generally are not even offered. The effect is that the audience is kept from information. The major bookstores, consolidated into chains, pick and choose the work they want to sell, and there is remarkable similarity between the offerings in bookstores of different chains. The main mechanism for acceptance into the distributorship cabal of the mainstream publishing houses is a good review by major sources. The sources tend to fall back on *The New York Times* book section.

The New York Times book reviewers have wildly praised truly mediocre books so that distribution can be gained and so that the author can sell on merits other than the skill presented in the work. The author can be sold simply for his particular propaganda message. A completely fraudulent book, *From Time Immemorial*, by Joan Peters became a bestseller in the United States. Virtually every review of it here was wildly praiseworthy. The book claims that the Palestinians didn't exist.[37] Many more explicit examples of publishing industry control of book choices and distribution availability are available.

Not to gain access to a literary agent means that the search for a publisher has suddenly become a much more arduous task. Further, it means that the author will not, in all probability, be published by a major publishing house. This in itself means that the work is doomed to limited dissemination. If the work cannot find a distribution network

of national scope, such as the major bookstores have and which denial of major publishing house portends, then distribution of the work remains limited. Often authors will distribute their work personally, carrying the product around in the trunks of their cars. This method has been described as time-consuming, depressing, and frustrating. Perhaps with the advent of computers and information networks such as the Internet, literary works and political thought will travel without the restrictions that centralization has placed on U.S. publishing for so long. This disturbing trend reflects the situation for authors of all genres—not just for authors of books remotely related to the propaganda addressed in this book. Huge publishing companies are willing only to publish what they think will be a blockbuster, so they end up issuing middle-of-the-road, homogenized material that has a good chance of selling to the mediocre mass market.

For historical information, schools and universities teach from information provided by fewer than a dozen major publishing houses. The big houses have become the purveyors not only of the entire history of written tradition, but also the censors of it. They leave us with revised history designed to show a new reality, not necessarily a factual one.

Some examples of revisions of current history include differences in the terminology used to describe certain aspects of World War II and the Holocaust: concentration camps versus internment camps, as the U.S. camps for Japanese-Americans were called. Twenty-twenty hindsight can spot errors, but the nearsighted vision seemingly cannot understand that the realities of 1940 were not the same as the world of 1990. No, the camps didn't have air conditioning, and that may have been cruel, but air conditioning had not been invented yet. Yes, diseases were rampant, and wars and famine were raging all around. Conditions were not ideal for citizen, soldier, or prisoner.

Examples of revisions of traditional history include the distortions of archeological and historical research and proofs. This circumvention is evident even in such revered works as the Oxford English Dictionary which, suddenly and for no historically valid reason, now describes the letters of the alphabet as deriving from the Hebrew, not the Phoenician, as is historically accurate. Phoenicia corresponds to

modern-day Lebanon, which is politically inappropriate for Israel support. Even the Dead Sea Scrolls have their hype, with none knowing whether they were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

"The movies, museums and constant media bombardment have done the job of inculcating the politically correct World War Two beliefs."[38] Even the word Holocaust was forced into mass-mediated historical discourse of the West by Elie Wiesel beginning in the 1970s. Revisionists are not oblivious to the fact that Wiesel's term was amplified throughout the media.

Time-Warner, formed by merger of Time, Inc., and Warner Communications, is the largest media corporation in the world. It has more technical communication power than most governments. Its assets are greater than the combined gross domestic products of Albania, Bolivia, Jordan, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Mali. It is the largest magazine publisher in the United States, with *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated*, among others. Its aggregate worldwide readership exceeds 120 million. Its is the second largest cable company in the world, one of the largest book publishers (Time-Life books; Scott, Foresman; Little, Brown; the world's largest video company, and owner of subsidiaries in Asia, Australia, Europe, and Latin America.[39]

Bertelsmann, A.G., owned by a German, Richard Mohn, owns the two biggest book clubs in the United Kingdom and publishes books and magazines throughout Europe. Except for Rupert Murdoch, Bertelsmann probably issues more printed material around the world than any other company. It owns U.S. magazines, including *Parents* and *Young Miss*, and the major U.S. book publishing firms, Doubleday and Banyan. Through his 18.5 percent interest in the large U.K. firm, Pearson, P.L.C., Mohn owns 7 percent of Reuter's news service, *The Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and Viking and Penguin Books. Bertelsmann has the largest satellite television system in Europe, and is the second largest magazine publisher in the United States (*TV Guide*, *Seventeen*, *The New Yorker*, and others). It controls Fox Broadcasting network, 20th Century Fox movie studios, is part owner of CBS/Fox Video, and is the world's largest distributor of video cassettes.[40]

The Stephen Green story is a classic example of the irrational obstacles, lost orders, harassment, chicanery, and just plain dirty tricks used to control U.S. public opinion, and to prevent alternative views on Israel from having a mass-mediated voice on the U.S. commercial and public airwaves. In this instance, Green had published *Living by the Sword*, a book highly critical of Israel. Green had originally sold the book to McGraw-Hill on the basis of having published with the McGraw Hill scholarly division before. Bruce Lee, nonfiction editor for McGraw Hill, and two to three nonfiction editors at McGraw Hill were fired because they accepted Green's book for publication. Editorial and Marketing had accepted the book, but the CEO killed the project. When the book's editors said "you can't do that," the CEO said, "yes, I can," and proceeded with what has become known at the book publishing giant as the Friday afternoon massacre. The story was carried in the business section of *The New York Times*. Lee took project to William Morrow publishers. *Living by the Sword* contained controversial subject matter. Many aspects of the "special relationship" between the United States and Israel had not been documented with original source material, and Green used the Freedom of Information Act source material in his research. The book covered Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons, and the A4 and A1 warplane deals pushed through Congress. He noted that the relationship between the United States and Israel began to change when we began to provide offensive weaponry.

Perhaps the most startling of Green's discoveries in the official U.S. archives opened by the Freedom of Information Act was the confirmation that by 1967 Israel had the ability to destroy all armies and air forces in the Middle East. This information was in stark contrast to the mass-mediated image of the struggling island of democracy surrounded by a sea of hostile neighbors bent on destruction.

Paul Findley, an Illinois congressman of twenty-two years, whose opinions on an unpopular subject might be considered especially relevant, was confronted with severe censorship and suppression. Writers who do not follow the official Israel propaganda line normally experience difficulty when attempting even to find a literary agent who will help search for a publisher. His first book experienced continuous

difficulties during the entire life cycle of the printing, from agent selection through warehousing and distribution.[41]

George Ball, one of the last giants among U.S. statesmen, also experienced chicanery at book publication when the subject was Israel.[42] His enormously powerful book also brought him severe ridicule by *The New York Times*. Both of these U.S. statesmen were hindered, in a fast-moving and lucrative book publishing market, in their ability to present their views. Meanwhile, relative unknowns such as Wolf Blitzer, Jon Kimche, and others are able to tap the market for information on the Israel–United States relationship.[43,44] Others, such as Ostrovsky (the official heroic opposition) became "number 1 bestsellers" and remained in bookstores for quite some time. Chomsky, who is the established "politically correct" opposition to Israel, was able to start his own distribution company.[45,46] Cockburn was actually able to bring up the clearly identifiable subject of treason being coerced from Jewish-Americans and Jewish institutions by the Israeli military intelligence.[47] Others, such as Podhoretz, used their publishing vehicles to forge the distinction between American Jews and Jewish-Americans with his critique of American life.[48] Even books that mention segments of Middle Eastern Arabic histories of any kind are noticeably absent from U.S. bookstore shelves. Political books on the subject of Israel and the Middle East by Arab-Americans are totally absent from the marketplace of ideas.

Radio

Radio was in the forefront of the homogenization of American culture and presided over the disintegration of local music scenes. Local music culture was one of the early victims in the media conglomeration and ownership set of activities that occurred throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s and to this day. In terms of centralization of media resources, radio networks were early and eager victims.

If you doubt the power of radio as a persuasive medium, try this experiment: turn on your television set, find an action program, adjust the volume to a comfortable listening level, and turn your back to the set. You will hear the program, but not see it, yet you will be able to fully imagine, from the sound alone, the action taking place on the

screen. Now turn toward the television set, turn the volume all the way down, and watch the television with no sound. You will find that even for an intensely realistic scene, the mute visual is comical, and almost boring. Soundtracks attest to the power of audio, the audio component of television, radio, and the pure audio component itself.

Radio has a number of characteristics that distinguish it from television, such as its portability, the size of the equipment required to receive a radio broadcast, the range of the reception area of radio broadcasts, the number of radio stations, and the broad range of band frequencies and modulations, such as AM, FM, short and medium wave bands, citizens wave, ham radio, military, and other private channels. Radio is truly the information channel. That is, we get information from audio. Video enhances information, but mostly the information we get comes from our ability to hear—from audio. Audio does much more for us than convey information, however. Radio, the mechanism for transmitting audio over long distances and large areas, has been adapted as a finely tuned tool for persuasion and selling. From the U.S. commercial perspective, radio remains an invaluable tool.

Radio is subdivided into four main areas. The entertainment value, better known as music, is often mistakenly perceived as the primary purpose of radio. A commercial portion specializing in the delivery of product marketing information is radio's *raison d'être*. Other areas include the discussion or talk show element and the news component, which swings off into network news. Put in order of importance, the radio listener hears commercials, punctuated by music, discussion programs, and news, and subliminally experiences a high degree of interaction between these areas. All these types of radio programs are capable of conveying opinion, emotion, a view of the world from the perspective of the music artist, the news network, the attitude of the discussion leader, or the particular commercial. What the listener hears is biased by the tendencies of the radio station itself, whether it follows a more conservative bent, or whether it is meant to appeal to the needs or desires of a specific age group.

Nothing said so far about radio is really very extraordinary, except that people very seldom think that all of these characteristics of radio are quantified. Radio broadcast areas are broken down

demographically through continuing and exhaustive analysis, so that stations can make programming determinations based on the demographic makeup of the listening area, and based on whether a population within a given area exists that will support a radio station based on the amount of advertising revenue that the radio station would be expected to generate. Additionally, as a listening area's demographics change, the radio stations in the area take on a different character. This can be especially true in some of the older Eastern cities where early radio stations began during the baby boom years of the 1950s and 1960s as rock and roll stations, and as the population aged, the stations gradually migrated to easy listening, soft rock, and country stations to cater to the largest age group as it aged.

All of these segments of radio have the power to deliver emotional, persuasive messages, and clearly demonstrate the emotional power of music. Oratory is the art form employed in the discussion and also the presentation of news. Oratory is seldom given status in academic institutions any more, yet here it is, full blown, in radio.[49]

The morning DJs, with their corny talk shows and laughter, are not on the air by mistake. They use well-planned, proven oratorical formulae to gather listener attention in a lighthearted, corny, and cheerful way in the morning. Similarly, on the lighthearted broadcasts of the news in the evening, the announcers often have noticeably irritated and somewhat impudent voices as they complain about the misdeeds of government and the crimes and misdemeanors of the nation at large. A significant amount of emotion and fear saturates the attitude of NPR broadcasters as they recount events so far outside the local community as to be insignificant except for their sensationalist value.

So we begin to come to the real point of radio now, and that is sensational value. What values does it portray to shake the listener, mold the listener's thinking? This is the propaganda value of radio. Music evokes emotion, and we listen to certain stations because they play certain kinds of music that evoke certain emotions. Radio stations are subdivided according to the type of music that a listener can expect to hear on them. Increasingly, stations are also distinguished by the kinds of information that they would be expected to present. Some stations are more interested in sports, ball games, and discussions of

ball games; some stations broadcast primarily news; and others are talk stations. The intent of all the programming that is not commercial is to involve the reader in the particular attitudes and dispositions of the radio program, the intention being that the listeners who are caught up in the radio program, to the extent that they are regular listeners, define the extent to which they are exposed to the commercial content. A regular listener is regularly exposed to a repeated commercial message. Radio advertising, like all other kinds of persuasion, relies heavily on repetition as the mechanism for persuading the listener to buy the advertised product. Most commercial media show a distinct pattern of advertising negative social attitudes and actions.

It is characteristic of the liberal intellectual heroes of public radio to praise the pro-Israel and "politically correct" personalities of commercial fame. The focus of radio is on the well-defined demographic segments of society and their relative frequencies and locations. Radio is sending its message.

National Public Radio (NPR) is in a class by itself for both news and entertainment information. Spawned from the American Public Radio Network (APRN), a part of the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), NPR is the baseline radio program for publicly financed university campuses and the adjoining regional, often rural, broadcast regions. NPR broadcasts from the APRN, in place and operating nationwide, have an interesting and studied approach to the projection of bias. Whereas news appears to be somewhat balanced, most of its other programming story lines project many powerfully reinforced stereotypes. Some psychological anchors are repeated frequently. A few examples will illustrate.

NPR's biggest credibility problem is that most of its news and program-producing staff and decision makers are American Jews with well-known allegiances to Israel. So Linda Gradstein reports from Jerusalem and Deborah Amos from Saudi Arabia, while Noah Adams wonders if Germany is "ready to pay" its reparations to Israel. Russian Jews don't leave the USSR; they flee or are expelled. New films about the Holocaust, filmed on location at Auschwitz, are advertised.

For Christmas, NPR ran a five-minute article on Susan Stamberg and her mother's apple pie recipe. She tells us once again how Jews are

so fun-loving and American, trying hard to associate Jews with Americans, apple pie, and the Christian holiday of Christmas. Stamberg tells a "heart-warming" story about how the producers of NPR won't let her "broadcast" her recipe, but will call her on the phone to get the recipe "one on one"—a euphemism for how Israeli propaganda likes Jews to be portrayed in the U.S. media. Stamberg likens herself and her Jewishness to American team players who are shunned in public but sought out in private for their crazy but wonderful ideas. This is classic exclusionist racial propaganda, no doubt largely motivated by insecurity at not being considered "apple pie American" by the mainstream population.

Alan Lomberg presents a business program, Jeff Bauman reports on "spying for Israel," and Bonnie Schwartz covers the Berlin film festival, while Geri Gross and Vlad Posner reflect on the politics of Catholic saints on their talk show *Fresh Air*.[50] Look for this common juxtaposition: two marginally understandable English-speaking Arabs are interviewed, followed by a clearly Jewish and American voice such as Thomas Friedman, with his polished colloquially American style.

The list of American-Jewish radio personalities on NPR clearly overwhelms cultural balance, and can be said to be safely in the hands of Israeli publicists on the public radio network. Through NPR, more Jews present more news about more Jews more often than any other radio or television station outside of Israel. This is not in itself a bad thing, but it is obviously ethnically biased. Photos, such as those in the lobby of NPR headquarters in Washington, D.C., listing editors and producers for various shows, often include the janitorial staff so that the enormous employment bias in the selection and presentation of programming does not show. And as the fundraisers often remind us, this is all made possible through your generous contribution to National Public Radio. So arrogantly are Israel's forces in control of public radio that they can even portray an obnoxious public representative such as Barney Frank in a good light simply because he is an American Jew.

An NPR editorial opinion, expressed as news, said that by not supporting Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, then–U.S. President George Bush was either going to "stab them [the Israelis] in

the back" or "pull the rug out from under them." Radio's audience analysts portray news listeners as constantly needing a bigger hit, like an addiction. While in commercial radio, advertisements are often sold at thousands of dollars per second—making the reporting of local politics unprofitable and boring to the listener—NPR supports the phenomenon of broadcasting an entire minute of a city council chamber clapping for a Jewish councilman's fiancée, preferring to squander radio air time on personal aggrandizement.

In these ways, NPR instructs rather than reports, and creates personalities and psychological anchors rather than information on issues.

Radio's history also plays a continuing part in the reinforcement of prejudices. Juke boxes in trendy restaurants such as the Silver Diner even in the late 1990s contained songs with racist slurs such as "Ahab the Arab."[51]

The engineering of rock music and the groups who play it focuses on the instabilities inherent in the ages of their fans. Heavy metal rock groups, for example, are designed to project a fantasy of Satan as savior for neurosis-prone, lower-working-class teenagers. Heavy metal has made enormous profits for record companies, but has promoted suicide and antisocial violence as an answer to adolescent problems.[52] Barbara Streisand, Bob Dylan, and Bruce Springsteen sing songs from the heart—American Jews singing songs about girls going to churches. At the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame inauguration event, Bob Dylan was rolled out once again to proclaim his rebelliousness and pass the commercial, commodified mantle of "rock and roll legend" to Bruce Springsteen.

Radio has its advantages in the mobile information age, but television has the most invasive and persuasive power over perceptions of public opinion and tastes.

Conclusion

Control of the channels of mass media is among the major methods of influencing public opinion. The American Jewish community since 1967 has been mobilized at an almost fanatic level in support of an expansionist

Israel, and they have been portrayed as uniformly and consistently opposed to any political settlement. They have been the major factor of the aggrandizement of Israel's power. They have used their position of quite considerable influence in the media and in the political system to defeat and overcome any challenge to their support for Israel, using all the standard techniques of vilification, defamation, closing off control over expression, and other fascist and antidemocratic techniques.

Journalists, when visiting other countries, often encounter situations in which they are asked to comment on the current situation in the host country. The journalist shrugs and gives a vague, imprecise answer. Upon returning home, the journalist invariably writes in a later article: why do we North Americans pay so little attention to [the country visited]. Why do we? Americans get their news from the mass media. The question really is why do the media pay so little attention to other countries?

Michael Medved says that the first of the media's two lies is that the media are just entertainment.[53] We know this to be false in mass society. The second is that the media just reflect the society at large. We know that the media in fact try untiringly to bring about certain ways of thinking. Both views are naïve and simplistic, and ignore real world politics. He does correctly dissect violence, showing, for example, that to grow up female with the mass media in the United States is to grow up confused, encouraged to be sexually promiscuous, politically naive, and prone to conspicuous consumption ("spaving," as one consumption-encouraging commercial defines as spending and saving).

Chomsky notes that "...movies and human contacts are the best media for sociological propaganda in terms of social climate, slow infiltration, progressive inroads, and over-all integration.... The press tends more to shape general views; radio is likely to be an instrument of international action and psychological warfare, whereas the press is used domestically."[54]

National political parties have been mean-spirited and vicious, verbally clawing at each other for years, some aided and others hindered by the media. Local political voices have disappeared from the national scene. This is a time of homogenization of American culture, so that

Americans have the same problems, hopes, and dreams. Television dispenses both the problems and the cures, in expensive measured doses. Local talent snuffed out, national rock stars now claim to dominate the teenage media mindset, to push the envelope defining the limits of "sexy" at its interfaces with pornography, lewdness, and indecency. The media show what happiness is and isn't.

Recall Ellul from the chapter on propaganda, who noted that in large societies in which propaganda is at work, opinion can no longer form itself except via the centralized media of information. "No opinion is of any consequence unless it is first communicated to the masses by the vast media of dissemination and propaganda, and if it is not assimilated on a massive scale." Ellul again refers to Doob's "laws."[55]

If propaganda is to lead to action, it must also have collective influence. that influence is composed of two main characteristics: propaganda creates a strong integration of the group and at the same time activates the preoccupations of that group, and propaganda gives great power to opinion. This opinion is no longer a belief at times unsure of itself, spreading slowly by word of mouth, and difficult for opinion surveys to pinpoint. It is projected outside itself, and it meets itself and hears itself on the screen and the airwaves invested with power, grandeur, and magnificence. Such opinion learns to believe in itself, certain now that it is "truth" because it has seen itself revealed and promulgated on all sides by powerful media.[56]

The media, with authority deriving from its pervasiveness, can claim that a senator is communist or anti-Semitic. Evidence can be that the senator doesn't vote for pro-Israel legislation. The logical warrant is supplied by the media through ancillary hard news supported by an array of soft news. The major error in logic is that the warrant provided by the media is in the theater of political imagery. The chapter on politics goes into this set of relationships in more detail.[57]

Silence is also one way to influence opinion by modifying content of the news mix.[58]

Saturation coverage of crime news, crime legislation and debate, crime shows, and crime movies all suggests a strong and concentrated effort by the media to control the agenda of news and thereby continuously

attempt to manipulate culture. Crime shows, from romanticized detective stories (such as *Columbo*) through the violence-ridden action shows of the Stallone-Schwarzenegger genre, manifest a near-constant depiction of criminal activities. The story lines for the "woman-appealing" genre of shows taps into crime as the source for the portrayals of emotional and psychological violence.

Chomsky talks about how the media are always subservient to government because corporate interests always control government. Yet when he discusses the media's coverage of the Vietnam conflict, he doesn't seem concerned with the media suddenly coming out against the Vietnam war, a complete about-face from the pro-corporate position. Again, there is no middle ground. The question is not really as simple as Chomsky puts it. If we take his assumption at face value, that the media, being corporate entities themselves, always support the corporate entity, then his sudden description of the media's reason for coming out against the Vietnam war just simply doesn't make any sense. It makes much more sense to look at the media's about-face in the context of the times. The media did an about-face about 1967. They brought conscientious objection to the fore, and brought the war's atrocities to the fore. The media made war an atrocity, and the media made the Bob Dylans, Chicago Sevens, and other famous Jews. What the media did was to decide whether it would be Vietnam or Israel getting all that money. The media decided to come out against the Vietnam War, lest Israel starve.

The high-technology media no longer provide access to government in ways that would have a meaningful influence on voting behavior. That response begs the real question: should the media be totally commercial, or should they be required to shoulder a greater degree of civic responsibility? And if more responsibility is required from it, how do we guarantee that the new mechanism will not fall under the same controlling influence as the present-day media and its paucity of meaningful news? People often argue that we can get all the news we want from shortwave radio sources. Not so. Try to get your hands on a shortwave radio. Then, what is it really saying, given that most shortwave broadcasters suffer from the same kind of problem, but at the other end of the control spectrum: total state control instead of

total commercial control. A truly gullible electorate will vote despite the lack of real, relevant, timely, regular, reliable information about government at the local, state, and national levels. But remember, very few people in this democracy actually vote (25 percent of all eligible voters is considered a huge turnout in a national election). Media analysts say that the electorate is merely apathetic, but this is not so.

[1] McCluhan 1966.

[2] Abood 1985.

[3] Ellul 1973, p. 10: "...movies and human contacts are the best media for sociological propaganda in terms of social climate, slow infiltration, progressive inroads, and over-all integration.... The press tends more to shape general views; radio is likely to be an instrument of international action and psychological warfare, whereas the press is used domestically." Ellul 1973, p. 10: "Propaganda must be total...the press, radio, television, movies, posters, meetings, door-to-door canvassing."

[4] Key (1993) identifies these subliminal strategies for audiovisual media: figure-ground reversals (syncretistic illusions), embedding, double entendre, tachistoscopic displays, low intensity light and low volume sound, and lighting and background sound. The 1984 rules and regulations of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms rules specifically that one of these forms, embedding, is illegal.

[5] Key 1993, p. 46.

[6] Key 1993, p. 173.

[7] Dixon, Subliminal Perception, lists the following areas of behavior: dreams, memory, conscious perception, emotional response, drive-related behavior, perceptual threshold, verbal behavior, adaptation levels, purchasing behavior, psychopathology.

[8] Dixon, Subliminal Perception, lists the following areas of behavior: dreams, memory, conscious perception, emotional response, drive-related behavior, perceptual threshold, verbal behavior, adaptation levels, purchasing behavior, psychopathology.

[9] "Emotional significance appears to be the basic criterion for repression or exclusion from conscious awareness. Individuals with rigid, moralistic, religious perspectives, for example, appear especially vulnerable to the obscene subliminal embeds used by advertisers. ... Few groups in the United States population appear so preoccupied with sexual or death taboos, for example, as religious fundamentalists—a fact of life regularly exploited by television evangelists and other assorted hucksters." Key 1993, p. 39.

[10] Key 1993, p. 59: "A substantial body of medical research concludes that subliminal stimuli are responsible for most, if not all, psychosomatic illnesses. These illnesses originate in the mind or in mental or emotional conflict. Psy-

chosomatic illnesses include paranoia, phobias, and other stress syndromes...."[8] Darnovsky et al. 1989.

[11] Ellul 1973, p. xi.

[12] Holsti 1967, p. 249.

[13] Holsti 1967, p. 249.

[14] Darnovsky et al. 89.

[15] Ellul 1973, p. 73–74.

[16] Ellul 1973, p. 74.

[17] From Darnovsky et al. 1989, p. 8.

[18] Doob 1935.

[19] Summarized from Doob (1935, pp. 413–17).

[20] Ellul 1973, p. 11.

[21] Ellul 1973, p. xvii.

[22] Ellul 1973, p. 63.

[23] Ellul 1973, pp. 71–72.

[24] Ellul 1973, p. 79.

[25] Ellul 1973, p. 79.

[26] Lasswell et al. 1968, p. 177.

[27] George 1959, p. vii: description of content made from Nazi propaganda in World War II.

[28] Mentioned in the *Time* article (Bernstein 1990) were AIPAC, B'nai B'rith, Hadasseh, Jewish Theological Seminary, Israeli-Diaspora Institute, Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations (representing 45 associations), Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Baltimore Jewish Times, 38 Jewish members of Congress, a professor of religion at a major university, and a Jewish "scholar" of Israeli politics and American Jewry.

[29] For a recent comparison as of this writing, see the Associated Press/Reuters article "Palestinian Revolt Fails to Achieve Goal in Two Bloody Years" (Seattle Times 1989, p. A3). "Brilliant" Palestinians fail to persuade "average" Israelis. This article has a host of classic anti-Arab condensational symbols.

[30] For a good description of referential and condensational symbols in the media, see W. Lance Bennett 1988, pp. 78–84. See also Tuchman 1978.

[31] Seattle Post Intelligencer 1990.

[32] See Slade 1981, pp. 143–62. Current "news" about Iraqi wartime conduct has greatly intensified this set of symbols.

[33] See Doob 1935. Particularly relevant is Doob's fourth principle: Principle of Related Attitudes. For another description of this phenomenon, see Boorstin 1962.

[34] For a good description of relativism and construction of social argument, see Edelman 1977.

[35] An excellent example, though not the most recent, can be seen in Newsweek 1989, pp. 58–60. The article is heavily laden with positive images of family, religion, love, emotion, and other condensational symbols.

[36] A recent article as of this writing is in The Seattle Times (1990, p. A1), in which the author takes issue with the de facto ethnic segregation among churches. The article portrays Episcopal, Baptist, and Catholic churches as deliberately racist.

[37] Chomsky 1992, p. 35.

[38] Hoffman 1995.

[39] Bagdikian 1990.

[40] Bagdikian 1990, p. 241.

[41] Findley 1989 and Findley 1993.

[42] Ball and Ball (1992) provide one of the best descriptions of the enormous financial disaster that support for Israel has placed upon U.S. taxpayers.

[43] Blitzer (1989) tells the story of Jonathan J. Pollard, the American who spied on his country for Israel, and how he was betrayed. Blitzer was a Washington correspondent for the Jerusalem Post, andcontends that Pollard was morally correct to spy for Israel even while Israel betrayed him.

[44] There could have been peace, a pure Israel propaganda piece that received quick approval, heavy editorial and production support, and wide distribution and promotion (Kimche 1973).

[51] A trendy chain of restaurants reminiscent of the 1950s, whose stock was publicly traded on the NYSE.

[52] Key 1993, p. 89.

[53] Medved 1992.

[54] Chomsky 1983, p. 10.

[55] Ellul 1973, p. 203.

[56] Ellul 1973, p. 210.

[57]Ellul 1973, p. 56. There is the use of accurate facts by propaganda. Based on them, the mechanism of suggestion can work best. U.S. advertisers and propagandists call this technique innuendo, in which the public is left to draw obvious conclusions from a cleverly presented truth, and the great majority comes to the same conclusions.

[58] This technique, called *selection* by U.S. authors, leads to an effective distortion of reality. The propagandist automatically chooses the array of facts that will be favorable to him and distorts them by using them out of context (Ellul 1973, p. 56).

5. Television and Cinema

"Our leaders have failed us. They no longer deserve our loyalty."

Commander Kern, Starship Commander, Klingon Empire, Star Trek.

Television dwarfs all other communication technologies in its power to induce passivity, inculcate ideas, destroy imagination, and hook viewers on representations that are otherwise foreign to their moral and intellectual structure.

Israel conspires to gain supporters by promoting exposure to positive myths about itself through the mass media. Nowhere is this conspiracy more evident than in American television programming. The entire history of the modern state of Israel is contemporary with the invention and rise of television as the most pervasive social force in the United States and the world.

Twentieth century electronic networks supply the mass audience with channels for information about the current state of local and national levels of government. They are the pathways that provide us with the news, sports, and weather reports that ultimately wind up as radio and television programming. Long-term study in advertising, persuasion, and communication tells us that the most effective propaganda tool is television, and that the tools to be used on television are well-known, continuously refined, psychological and emotional techniques that relate back to the very core of humans' need to communicate.

In the days before television, people were busy creatures. During the nineteenth century, Americans were farmers, ranchers, barely out of the hunter-gatherer stage at the dawn of the industrial revolution. In the post-industrial society, we do our hunting and gathering in supermarkets in a civilized way. We pick food from bins and shelves, not from trees or, heaven forbid, the ground.

There was no question of getting involved in life then. If you didn't get involved, you starved. Today, if you don't get involved, you can go on

welfare and spend your days and evenings smoking cigarettes and watching television. If you really want to party, you can drive to the local McDonalds and afterwards grab a six-pack of beer on your way back home to the tube.

Ah, the tube. What would we do with that space in our living room without the tube? Entertainment centers would probably never have been invented. TV dinners would have been called something else. And all that time that modern conveniences save us would have to be spent on something other than watching *Flintstones* reruns.

Television, as the premiere medium for quick escape into fantasy, consumes enormous amounts of time from individuals within the televised (or otherwise mass-mediated) environment. When we consider the statistically average day in the United States, we find some interesting data about the state of the mass-mediated U.S. intellect.

The typical American watches 30 hours of television per week, which includes about 100 commercials per day, or more than 37,000 commercial messages per year. The typical 1-hour program includes 17–20 minutes of commercials, with an average of 5 commercials per 3-minute commercial break, and an average of 7 3-minute commercial breaks per hour. A sponsor expects the viewer to be exposed to a product-specific commercial message for 30–60 seconds at a time, with an average frequency of every 6–7 minutes. That is all it takes to reinforce your tendency to support a product belief, because television is a powerful medium for reinforcement.

We may spend 7–8 hours sleeping and 8–12 hours at work or in work-related activities (such as commuting), 1 or 2 hours on the average for personal maintenance activities (such as shopping and grooming), and 1–2 hours eating. Of the maximum of 7 hours left for personal "free" time, studies say that the average American spends 3 hours per day focusing on the fantasy and escape that television offers.

Television molds and modifies the thoughts of those who subject themselves to it. The psychology of persuasion in television broadcasting relies almost exclusively on the idea that to anchor an idea into the consciousness of the viewer, the strongest possible

stimulation must be given to the so-called base human reactions—fear of death and desire for sex. Fear and death are most commonly recognized under the title of television violence. Far and away the most widely criticized aspect of programming, sex and violence, or fear and desire, are still expected to be the only sure-fire or powerful ways to capture and hold viewer attention and interest.

Mass-Mediated Violence

Studies by the U.S. Surgeon General's office have shown that television violence increases the acceptance of violence in children. Other studies have shown that children who watch a great deal of television are more cynical than are children who watch less television.[1] The expensive and market-driven construction of short, high-impact commercials has created thirty seconds as the basic viewer attention unit, ideal for selling marginal goods, but imparting negative psychological and intellectual consequences for the average American child who, the statistics show, watches television for twice as many hours as he or she attends school. To counter public resistance to television and advertising, the manipulation of emotions have become more sophisticated. Social science and psychological techniques have been added to television's arsenal for conditioning human behavior.

Violence, an abstraction that has as its essence a need to hurt, is manifested in the audiovisual media as fighting, shooting, yelling, and killing. Violence on television has long been a controversial academic subject in the disciplines of communications and psychology. It has also been a salable commodity since the inception of television programming. Westerns, detective stories, and all kinds of serials and fictions have regularly utilized escalating degrees of graphic violent representation as one of the techniques to add action and excitement to programming. Even news broadcasts emphasize violent events in an attempt to get viewers to find news as interesting as what *should* be on television.[2]

What kinds of programs should be on television? In 1951, the National Association of Public Broadcasters surveyed television program content in three major U.S. cities and concluded that above all else, violence was the most common programming fare in 10 percent of all

programming time. In 1956, a congressional subcommittee to investigate juvenile delinquency reported that television violence was potentially harmful to youthful audiences. Later congressional surveys in 1961 and 1964 concluded similarly, indicating that violent programming was not only common fare, but was significantly on the rise. In 1969, the surgeon general was instructed by President Nixon to appoint a committee to investigate the potential harmful effects that violent programming might have on American children. The result of this project, published in 1972, was a five-volume report, entitled *Television and Social Behavior*. It spawned a sixth, summary volume, written by a different group of scholars, and indicated conclusions that were controversial because they did not correspond to the results of the first five volumes. More specifically, the results of the sixth volume seemed to mitigate the extent of the problems posed by a regular and consistent fare of televised violence, which the five volumes addressed in detail.

From 1972 through the present, numerous studies have been done by various organizations in order to lend credence to one side or the other, in the continuing debate of whether television portrayals of violence are detrimental to the intent of society's laws. In 1951, violent television programming was expressed as a potential societal problem (following leads from earlier concerns in the film industry).

Television apologists claim that an absence of graphic violence would create the dullest programming in the world. They point to live televised coverage of congressional actions in the House of Representatives, and say that all of television would be this boring. In fact, the coverage of congressional activity could not be covered in a more amateurish and deliberately uninteresting way. News channels give much better summaries of baseball games than of congressional actions:

> Appearing every day, television programs create glimpses of a world that is dark and horrifying.... Taken collectively, and including the proliferating talk shows and news programs, these broadcasts create a climate of fear, and the trust that should exist between neighbors and friends dissolves. Even a loved

> one could be a maniacal killer, the shows instruct us, and trusting someone else is putting your life in his hands. Having trustworthy relatives is not even a sure guarantee against disaster....[3]

Crimes of Violence, appearing Tuesdays at p.m., on channel 28, is touted in the commercial as "graphic violence." Guns are pointed at you from the screen; rapists recount their rapture, and murderers recount the moment of the kill. *Crime Solvers* gives you quick tidbits of excitement. Later, in *Kidnap Syndicate*, a crime drama about the kidnapping of two youngsters, television hypes social paranoia with vigorous abandon. How often, though, do we get to see pictures of those space shots, which our tax dollars took on missions to the moon, and in earth's orbit? Too boring for television. The same with politics.

Violence can be categorized by type and related to television programming. Physical violence consists of shooting, stabbing, punching, and bombing, and is characteristic of Westerns and shows with militaristic themes, cop and detective shows, and martial arts shows. Within portrayals of physical violence are the attributes that characterize the violence: audile acts such as gunshots, screams, and person-to-person contact, and crashes.

Emotional violence accompanies physical violence and also stands on its own merit in the soaps: verbal violence, such as ridicule, demeaning behavior, lying, and cheating. Emotional violence focuses on negative emotions. These emotions may not be necessary for a happy life. They are often considered destructive to wholesome pursuits, and can or should be eliminated as much as possible from active and healthy lives.

Television continues to pretend there is no difference between how we perceive and react to advertising and how we perceive and react to programming. There is a big difference, though. Advertising sells a new image of self by offering something we don't have: fun if we drink beer and sex if we drive the right car. Programming is more complete. It creates and describes both the stress (plot) and the release (violence).

Programming tells us how to react to stress; advertising does the inverse: it tells us how to avoid stress. The messages can easily be confused and twisted to say "avoid stress by using a gun."

Guardians of Political Correctness

When we look at a *Nightline* special related to Israel, such as "Live in the Holy Land" with Ted Koppel, we are not immediately aware of the predisposition built into the presentation. The Israeli auditorium is full—half Jewish, half Palestinian—or so we are told. Seasoned Israeli Knesset politicians are set up to debate with a ragtag group of Palestinian professors from a university for Palestinians in the occupied territory, one that is open as often as it is closed by Israeli military decrees.

Long term stereotypical portrayals of Arabs also serve as the introduction of a continuously warm, friendly, American-ish, Yankee-loving Jew—often terrified by local savages and tormented by images of gas chambers and words like Auschwitz, Kristallnacht. They divide allegiance between the United States and Israel, torn by loyalty at almost every turn of Israel's media propaganda barrage.[4]

The *Moyers* show, with host Bill Moyers, presented a series of five half-hour shows supposedly depicting different aspects of Arab life, culture, and values. The shows project the same anti-Arab stereotypes that we might otherwise call "recognizable propaganda," such as the terrorist innuendo, wife-beating, drug-dealing, back-stabbing, swarthy, stupid Arabs.[5]

Moyers provides a provocative statement to the panel. The United States has "defining moments," such as the Civil War. Do the Arabs have defining moments? And do the Arabs think in terms of having a history (that is, do any of them *remember* their history?), and why haven't democracies evolved in Arab countries? Moyers argues from the point of view that "since you think the borders are artificially drawn by outside forces, why do you mind Israel, why don't you just accept the Palestinians?" He refers to Palestinians as "Saddams...cheering Iraqi SCUDs; the war is a "shame-honor" thing to the Arabs.

The stereotypical portrayals of Jews are quite different, yet just as forcefully and continuously portrayed. Here are examples that demonstrate the techniques.

Attack on the Achille Lauro, a movie made for television, is another interesting episode of television propaganda. It was a portrayal of current events, dramatizing news with emotional appeal for the good guys and

contempt for the bad guys. The movie opens with a touching scene of Jewish lovers (hands touching, lips kissing, and baby crying in the background) juxtaposed against a terrorist landing (tender Jews, hateful Arabs). Suddenly an alarm: the terrified old Jewish lovers run down the stairs to the basement (Nazi imagery). A little girl runs out of the basement to find her father (family bonds and tenderness), and she is gunned down by the terrorists (brutal hateful Arabs and grieving Jews). The scene switches to Beirut, burning fires, soldiers, and gunfire. Back in Israel, the Jewish prison guards smile with easy attitudes toward the captured killers in the one-on-one interrogation. On the U.S. mainland, Leon and his wife are both kept alive by technology. The Arabs are shown exclusively as dirty, macho males with guns who are stressed to the limit. The Jewish scenes are without exception enhanced with emotional goodness of male-female friendship, touching hands, faces, and endearing "I love you"–style dialogue. Where the Jews are portrayed as thoughtful to selflessness towards each other and their friends and family, the Arabs are portrayed as too stupid to even remember to speak English, and as being affectatiously fanatical in every scene.

For example, the fifteen minutes from the movie inception until the first commercial break is set amid the ship-boarding scene, softened with flowers, lace, warm weather, and white suits. The Arabs, however, creep by, as if afraid of sunlight, in black leather jackets.

After the first commercial break, we are at the ship's pool, where children are playing, and relaxed patrons are telling jokes. The Arabs, tense and quietly irritable, leer at the women. Leon and Charlotte thank each other; they talk about being part of the family. Leon gives a heartfelt tip. Charlotte gives a present to him; he thanks her tenderly, then badmouths his doctors and asks God for his wish to walk again. Leon and Charlotte are out on deck, sunshine and wind in their hair, the sounds of the sea. The Arabs are inside a dark cabin, shades drawn, door shut, listening to Arabic music from a tinny tape recorder, and cleaning their guns. The crowd at the evening show sings happy birthday to Charlotte; she touts her chemotherapy for the eighth time in the program's hour. Leon gets up and walks because he's tough and wants to say what's in his heart: He loves his family and his wife; he thanks God; she puts him back in bed, and they kiss. The next day,

Leon, with his lens cap humor motif, arms around his loving wife, is all smiles; they are the loving couple.

Leon and Charlotte at the pool. References are again made to her chemotherapy. The Arabs are still dressed in black, and are indoors in their bunks sporting cigarette packs, muscle shirts, and tinny Arabic music. Others on the ship are eating lunch.

The Arabs are now loading guns, sitting on the floor of their room. A bellhop walks in on them—they couldn't hear him banging on the door because of their fanatic devotion to their tinny music. Their bombs, guns, and ammunition were spread out on the floor haphazardly. Loading done, the Arabs are off, pushing old ladies around, yelling and generally shooting up the restaurant and the sniveling crowd.

Arabs in the restaurant, brave behind their guns, herd the pretty white girls outside, ordering them "down." Poor Charlotte is forced into the sun. We know by now that her chemotherapy doesn't agree with sunlight, so this is especially cruel to her. A shot zeroes in on Leon's confused face as Jewish violins play and he is shot.

Leon's passport and the next victim surface. The poor white girls suffer on deck, and they sing, along with Charlotte, in her sun veil: "Momma's gonna buy you a. . . ." The terrorists note that no one will miss Leon because he is of no importance, a cripple, and they did him a favor. Then they offer food to one of the women, and play the hand grenade game.

At PLO headquarters: "We eat, we bathe, we smoke, we pay," and with that, the terrorists get away. Charlotte gets bummed out when she finds out from the captain that Leon is dead (the scene is accompanied by sad Jewish violin music). Back in port, there is joyful release as families reunite. Charlotte, now looking older, moans and cries for photographers and journalists as she disembarks. Planes take off from an aircraft carrier after the Palestinians get on their escape plane.

Charlotte wants to identify the terrorists who have been captured in Sicily. The scene is mostly women, and Charlotte identifies the terrorists, and spits in one of their faces to the accompaniment of Jewish violins.

Three women hug and cry.

****

The powerful homogenizing forces of television and air conditioning in the summertime urge us to stay indoors, where the world is comfortable and safe, and be entertained with fantasy pumped in fresh from the foreign-controlled Los Angeles studios. Our problem with the media has a few components.

In the made-for-television movie, *The Chosen*, we have a special treat. In no other made-for-television movie are we acquainted with so large a cast of good, healthy, holy heroes. The main character is an old rabbi. The plot revolves around the rabbi's concern that his brilliant son is leaving the family and reading too many books. The main scenes take place in the home, the library, and the dinner table, and are of family. Drama and action come about when thugs in the streets chase the Jewish boys. All of the scenes are full of touching emotion. Study of *Torah* and *Talmud* in the morning and college studies in the afternoons. The boys have deep, intellectual discussions about science and the frontiers of the mind. A tinkling piano and weeping violin set the overall emotional tone.[6] Women engage in gentle platonic romance. In their spare time, the program's Jews either dance and sing, or pray. They are totally friendly, inoffensive and unassuming, and display none of the traits of ambition, lust, and hate so common in television programming.

Nazi cruelty is, of course, a main theme. The viewer gets the same photo-documentaries that have been extant in U.S. public and parochial schools. Only Jews died in concentration camps. The tie-in to the new Israeli becomes obvious and necessary to the modern Jewish heroes. Jews have special powers: they work miracles and predict the future. Jewish marriages and ceremonies are joyous affairs—unlike in the *Godfather*. Jewish children memorize books as fast as they can read them.

The "never again" mentality once again becomes the simple justification for Israel: modern Jew meets traditional Jew. "I was shipping guns to Palestine, Dad." "That's my boy! C'mon, lets eat." The tired Jew looks like the prophet Moses, while his son looks like the stereotyped U.S. intellectual: tall and thin, wearing thick glasses. It is the complete Jewish stereotype. They laugh, cry, and pray together as a family.

Brooklyn Bridge was an autobiographical series about a young boy growing up Jewish in New York City forty-some years ago. Under the watchful eye of his grandmother, whose flag-waving to show her warm gratitude for being in the United States never misses an opportunity, the young hero is just trying to be a mainstream kid of liberal intellectual parents, while adoring the Dodgers and taking frequent trips down emotional memory lane.

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There is a subtle difference in the media between downplaying and denigrating ideas. To downplay is to reduce coverage. It doesn't necessarily imply the projection of an attitude, not in the sense of actively projecting a negative image.

HBO aired *Path to Paradise*, a movie that is ostensibly about the World Trade Center bombing, but that will leave viewers with the distinct impression that Arabs and Muslims are a menace to the United States and that their immigration into the United States is a threat. In *Path to Paradise*, every Arab and Muslim character in the movie is an ugly stereotype. Even the FBI informer, Salem, who HBO told the ADC would be a positive character, is characterized as a lying, sexist sleaze. The entire tone of the movie is that "there is more to come from these people," meaning Arabs in general. The film is a montage of imams screeching virulent hatred and their fanatic Arab Muslim followers planning to deliver bombs. The association between Arab Muslims and violence was greatly enhanced in this made-for-television movie. They had hoped that this would lead to more diverse, sensitive, and accurate images of Arabs and Arab-Americans. However, the production by Time-Warner's HBO of *Path to Paradise* shows that these efforts were for naught. "We offered our input but after having viewed the movie, it is clear that our concerns were ignored. This unrelenting parade of violent Arab Muslims will perpetuate stereotypical portrayals of Arabs and Muslims. It will increase hate crimes, harassment of schoolchildren, job discrimination and other real life consequences for Arab Americans."[7]

On *Babylon 5*, Commander Ivanova wishes the commanding officer of B-5 a "Merry Christmas, Happy Hanukkah, whatever," and in her room,

solemnly and respectfully lights a menorah. Later in the show, jackbooted SS-style thugs browbeat a convert into intellectual submission, and arrest an aged shopkeeper for utterances deemed unpatriotic.[8]

Married with Children, despite its lackluster audience appeal and low ratings, has remained in a prime time slot, and has been made into more than 250 episodes. It is television's longest-running sitcom. While it has nowhere near the draw of competing and even popular family programs, its ability to remain in a lucrative commercial slot underscores the notion that content is irrelevant in high-viewer television time slots, and that the time slot makes the program, not the reverse.

After *Executive Decision* and other Arab-bashing movies by Warner Brothers and other studios had hurt the Arab-American community, Time-Warner, the parent company of Warner Brothers, agreed to meet with Arab-Americans on projects relating to Arab-Americans. The ADC immediately embraced this opportunity to voice its concerns about how Arabs and Arab-Americans are portrayed in the mass media.

The Washington Post devoted almost half a page to reviewing *Schindler's List*.[9] *Schindler's List*, a theatrical film broadcast for three and a half uninterrupted hours on television, is perhaps the most ominous example of Israel's power over Jewish-Americans and the resulting impact on the U.S. media. A Holocaust film with emotional impact about Jews during World War II, *Schindler's List* featured the Jewish filmmaker's opening remarks, a ninety-second editorial comment by the Shoah Foundation, a Jewish hate-mongering group, and a fifty-second commercial by Ford Motor Company, the program's sponsor, after the program's final credits. Significant for the movie is its list of awards by the media establishment, including seven Oscars in 1994, other media cartel awards, and a similar advertising plug from the U.K. media establishment. It was also named best picture in U.S. cities with large Jewish populations: New York (one in three persons is Jewish), Los Angeles (home of the Jewish media cartel), Chicago, Boston, and Dallas.

In the new television version of *War of the Worlds* series, the aliens call for the "final solution." Humankind becomes World War II Jewry.

A lone native American chants the spaceship to its destruction. The aliens conduct "terrifying human experiments," they rape, and they target humans for extermination. The parallels to the Nazis and Jews during World War II are obvious in most instances, subtle in others, but almost continuously carried through.

Star Trek's follow-on serials, *Deep Space Nine (DS9)* and *Voyager*, both reinforce politically correct Israeli psychological warfare propaganda. In *DS9*, the main characters are the African-American captain and his first officer, a Bjoran woman whose race has been decimated by the Cardassians. Beady-faced Cardassian characteristics are superimposed onto straight-framed, blue-eyed German Gestapo officers who vindictively and amorally practice evil, just as we are told their Nazi predecessors did. The orderly relations of African-Americans and Jews often suggested in the mainstream media and glorified in the O. J. Simpson trials is also symbolically represented in *DS9*. In *Voyager*, themes often revolve around Israeli propaganda themes common to the U.S. media: mass murderers encounter their survivors, a not-so-vague reference to the mainstream media's oft-repeated slant on World War II Jewish war victims. The media largely supports the reduction of significance in the deaths of any other victims of the war, and allows the Jewish experience to subsume the deaths of other races and peoples in the numbers game of how many of whom were killed.

Natural Born Killers, a product of a mainstream studio, Warner Brothers, shows dozens of graphic murders, such as shooting total strangers in the face or cutting their throats as they plead for their lives. As they kill, they tell jokes or kiss while an MTV-style soundtrack plays, sometimes joined by a laugh track. Nearly 100 killings are shown in extreme detail. Throughout the movie flash subliminal-speed images of screaming people covered with blood, decapitated bodies, children watching parents murdered, men strangling gorgeous, struggling women in revealing lingerie. The director, Oliver Stone, seems shielded by his affectational leftism.

Promoters claim that *Natural Born Killers* exposes a sickness in our society. This movie and the multitude of others like it do not expose a sickness, but rather, they transmit the disease of violence. The intent of the movies is not to inoculate against violence, but to glorify violence,

to associate it with love and laughter, as if to show that murder, no matter who is killed or how, is really "all right." Writers such as Gregg Easterbrook see that "[t]he sickness is Stone and the Warner Bros. management, who seek to profit by trendy mockery of the human condition."[10] The real point of the movie is not merely trendy mockery: the media created the trend, and so merely amplifies its own creation to begin with.

Children and Public Television

Television's near-continuous broadcast of violence into the homes of millions of viewers ranks as one of the most insidious social aberrations of the twentieth century. The moral theme of death is an ancient entertainment theme, dating back through the theater, the Roman coliseum spectacles, and ancient spoken lore. Television, however, raises the fascination to new levels of graphic awareness and, at the same time, mitigates or removes entirely the redeeming social value that accompanied most theatrical pretelevision portrayals. The lethal mixture of scientifically calculated assaults on the human psyche, formulated in the academic disciplines of psychology and sociology, and goal-driven marketing techniques practiced in mass media advertising leave the defenseless viewers with only one option: to turn the television off. Even that is impractical, though, because television has assumed the role of primary information source for all that transpires in society, locally and nationally. Additionally, television programmers are aware of the medium's role in the formulation of the national social agenda, and are reluctant to give up the power so sought after by political power brokers and purveyors of foreign intrigue.

The wide proliferation of violence across almost every genre of television programming demands an explanation of motive. Television executives, producers, and guilds have clung to the same simple reasoning for their choice of subject matter for more than three decades: the viewing audience shows the most interest in violent programming, and producers fulfill public demand. They have even threatened that to remove violence from programming would create the most dull programming imaginable. Rooted as television is in human emotional history, no one should be surprised to discover that the perpetration

of violence serves a number of interrelated and complex purposes. The selective use of violence interspersed with its emotionally opposite anchor in commercials is not the only motivating factor that can promote consumerism.

Violent programming is certainly not a primary motivating factor for the human intellect. Neither does it contribute to social or intellectual development. In this way alone, television continuously promotes a tremendously antisocial agenda.

Continuous portrayals of physical and emotional violence on American television support Israel's overall conspiracy to manipulate attitudes and inculcate politically correct beliefs. Specifically, when violence is promoted as a common social response to everyday problems, viewers become conditioned to more easily understand and subconsciously justify the violence practiced against Israel's non-Jewish residents, and by association, against any person or organization that criticizes Israel. A number of related political attitudes can be stirred into the message of everyday violence. As mentioned earlier, the ongoing intent of the propagandist is to attempt to alienate individuals from their social groups—family, school, church—so that they can be molded to think in ways contrary to the beliefs practiced by those organizations. The new mentality of graphic violence provided by television programming sets the stage for emotional acceptance of atrocities in the world of international politics, and for continuing U.S. support for those efforts.

The viewing public tends to assume that the absence of commercials on public television precludes the negative influence of violent program content, especially on children. In fact, while the content does not normally display as much guns-blood-and-guts physical violence, the psychological and emotional violence is as apparent as in commercial afternoon programming. For the adult viewers of public television, the intellectual appeal of more mature programs comes from a cadre of personalities and executives who regularly appear in both commercial and public television.

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) was created in 1969 as a cooperative of public television stations. The first of the largely education-focused public stations—Houston's KUHT—began

broadcasting in 1953. During 1993–94, U.S. public television stations had a combined budget of $1.38 billion. Fifteen percent of their budgets come from a portion of the profits that go to PBS from sales of cassette tapes and CDs marketed with the popular children's programs, and from the two-week long membership drive extravaganzas.

Public television has a sizeable audience with a stable demographic profile to include upscale viewers, educated and affluent, who tend to prefer the public channel for its lack of commercial content and its tendency to air programs that can in some sense be called educational, or at least viewer-friendly. PBS takes full advantage of its reputation by interspersing into its programming a regular series of programs designed to reinforce the Israeli propaganda imagery of its commercial sister. These programs tend to be docudramas spanning many episodes that are rebroadcast throughout the year. *War and Remembrance*, for example, was a thirty-hour programming extravaganza largely focused on the plight of European Jews during World War II.

PBS programming standards are supposedly designed to prevent conflicts of interest in the production and distribution of programming. Programs are rigidly scrutinized for biases indicative of conspiracy and propaganda, and PBS censors have been able to pick out biases that the ordinary viewer might otherwise miss.

PBS executives objected to *Made in USA*, a dramatic series on the history of labor, because it received money from unions. They rejected the Academy Award–winning documentary *Deadly Deception*, because it was funded and produced by the same entity, the nonprofit group INFACT. The rules, however, seem to be flexible enough to allow PBS to air a series on the history of the *New York Times* that was funded by the *Times* and produced "in association with the *New York Times*." The first installment, "James Reston: The Man Millions Read," aired January 8, 1993, and not surprisingly treated the retired *Times* pundit with "admiration and respect," according to the *Times*' own review (January 8, 1993). The director and producer, Susan Dryfoos, is a member of the Sulzberger family, which owns the *Times*, and is a first cousin of *Times* publisher Arthur Sulzberger, Jr. If it seems strange for "public" television to broadcast films about for-profit companies that are paid for by that company and made by one

of the company's owners—then you probably think that the same rules that apply to powerful media companies apply to everyone else.

The same censors are oblivious to the heavy-handed Israeli propaganda that permeates much of public television broadcasting. From recantations of Jewish trauma in cartoons to an emphasis on Jewish interest in baseball (the "all-American" game), the PBS censors have been careful to present a continuous, warm, and friendly image of Jews as Americans caught up in American traditions. Of the many studies of National Public Radio (NPR) and public television broadcasting, especially news-oriented programs, focus often centers on the demographics of the news shapers—those personalities responsible for preparation and presentation of news broadcasts and talk shows. These studies regularly comment on the low percentages of female commentators and special guests, and the predominance of white male over African-American, Latino, or other ethnic input, but they do not comment on the abundance of American Jews in these positions.

When we look at the impact of television on children, the normal tendency is to look at the amount of violence, and then to attempt to determine whether an acceptable level has been exceeded. Other issues arise when we look at attempts to inculcate children into politically correct thinking. Israel's media efforts in this regard have not been lacking. Just as surely as television and cinema deliberately apply violence to children's content, they also actively attempt to plant seeds of "correct" thinking toward Israel, Jews, and Arabs. Against a backdrop of "educational" programming so insipid that even all but the youngest of viewers are irritated, children's television shows and cinematic presentations are loaded with propaganda specifically designed to inculcate political messages to very young viewers.

PBS, competing in the aggressive daytime programming market, caters to a large audience of stay-at-home moms and preschoolers. Studies show that three out of four U.S. preschoolers watch *Sesame Street* at least once a week. By its fifth year, eighty nations were rebroadcasting the show. *Sesame Street* has been one of the most popular children's shows since its inception. In its early years, its characters became household names, and its stories and melodies were playful and fun. Later, after sale of the program, it began to run feature programs like

"Kibbutz," which highlights the nobility of the Israeli communal system, or "The Land of Israel," which promotes the idea of the nobility of the Jewish nation of Israel.

The recent PBS *Baseball* series, with its focus on the nostalgic aspects of the game in American life, outperformed its usual prime-time programs by 155 percent. More commercial and mainstream, Steven Spielberg's 1991 children's cartoon, *An American Tail: Fievel Goes West*, delivers an undertone of viewer angst. In it, the Mousekewitzes, a family of immigrant Jewish mice who fled czarist Russia, lead a poverty-stricken existence in a New York City tenement. Then Fievel the mouse takes them West, where they must battle a huge cat who is seeking the mass extermination of the entire rodent community.

When Ted Koppel addressed the issue of the influence of television on children, his program—as might be expected from commercial television—focused on pornography. Koppel contended that any eight-year-old boy can be exposed to pornography. He portrays the situation as quite different from the issue of pornography in the print and video media, where literally the push of one or two buttons can bring television's regular fare of vulgarity, guns, violence.

It is truly amazing, especially to those who cable browse, how frequently violence is portrayed on television. In a typical Sunday afternoon movie, the casual viewer can expect to find fare such as a handsome man bashing a beautiful woman's head against a post three or four times before she kicks him in the groin, and similar "family-oriented" movies. Cable viewers can try this experiment: with a 100-channel cable service, change the channel each time a gun or weapon is displayed, a fight occurs, a woman wails, or other physically, psychologically, or emotionally violent characterizations occur. Excepting sports and talk shows, you will change the channel about once every ten seconds. The message to the viewing public is a repeated engagement in violent tendencies, repeated like advertising, only much more intensely at three times per minute.

Verbal battering with put-downs and insults is common fare in teenage-oriented shows, such as *Bay Watch* and *90210*. There is a cadre of television programming apologists who, because of a lack of

sophistication in their viewing habits, in-grained since childhood, fail to see the problems caused by violent portrayals of human relationships. They prefer to associate sex with prostitution, homosexuality, and violence.

The violent nature of television programming creates stress and anxiety in children. Stunted intellectual development results from the short attention span promoted into the subconscious. Thirty- to sixty-second commercials are combined in three- to six-minute bursts, which segments programmed entertainment into another round of three- to six-minute bursts. The subconscious result that spills over into intellectual development is the three-minute attention span. For the unfortunate children who have to struggle through Lent without television, we can observe other addictive withdrawal symptoms. Simple abstinence is too painful, too one-sided. For them, perhaps black and white television is an easier medium to separate from reality because the significant visual element of color is supplied by the viewer's imagination, only suggested by the tube itself. Do these children need high-definition television (HDTV)? Hardly. They need less immersion in televised neurotica, not more.

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The Malaysian Action Front (MAF), a politically broad-based grouping of fifty nongovernmental organizations comprising some 2 million members, has called for a boycott of U.S. goods and products to protest "American domination of the world," according to Bernama, Malaysia's national news agency. The boycott targets fast food chains, oil companies, soft drink producers, cigarette manufacturers, and others, and argues that Malaysian government broadcasting should stop importing violent U.S. films and cartoons.

Piggybacked on the overt violence are repeated themes of Israeli propaganda: that European Jews suffered uniquely in the last world war, German responsibility, that the rest of the world could have done more to prevent Jewish suffering, and that the Jews, in stark contrast to the message of forgiveness in the Christian undertone of American society, will never forget. Television has become a continuous history

lesson of never forgetting the trauma of the Jewish experience, of hatred of the Jewish enemy, and of reason to support Israel.

Cinema

"Hollywood is sick," Nixon wrote in his tenth book, completed only weeks before his death in 1994. In *Beyond Peace* he gives a view of Hollywood from Washington that is rarely enunciated. The list of positive Jewish imagery, pro-Israel, and Arab-bashing films since Nixon's time outstrips other genre roles with the sole exception of the German Nazi war films—but even those are largely evocative of Jewish tragedy during World War II.

"What all this means (among other things) is that popular culture, in these last wild years of this bloody and terrible century, is whatever they say it is, whatever choices they choose to allow us to exercise.... What all this means is that it is no longer possible to avoid or escape the impact of the mass-produced popular culture.... No wonder nothing can equal or even approach the contempt that the masters of popular culture feel for the audience they routinely abuse."[11]

"By forgoing its responsibility to observe basic standards of decency, Hollywood has accelerated the decline of these standards in the community at large." Nixon warned that unless Hollywood cleans up its act, it will inevitably face censoring by the government. Nixon, whose term of office was cut short by organized media persecution, wrote that the news media "bear a large share of the responsibility for the current loss of faith in American political institutions." The media often push "past the limits of responsibility, destructively and unnecessarily undermining the authority and credibility of government."

Marlon Brando, interviewed on the Larry King show in April 1996, was clear in his observations about Hollywood, stating that Hollywood was run and owned by Jews. Interestingly, he noted that Hollywood has brought us "the nigger and the [Italian] greaseball, we've seen the Chink, we've seen the slit-eyed dangerous Jap, we have seen the wily Filipino, we've seen everything, but we never saw the kike."

Brando is not the only entertainer to voice his concern about Hollywood's hidden agenda. For his lyrics in "They Don't Care about

Us," pop star Michael Jackson was harassed by the Jewish Defense League until he agreed to change the song's lyrics. Singer-actress Dolly Parton attempted to make a movie about a country singer turned gospel singer, only to find that Hollywood was not interested in any positive promotions of Christianity. A talk show host received media abuse (which she no doubt enjoyed, given the content of her show) for suggesting that the new versions of the New Testament are changing the story of who killed Christ.

Artists who do not have Jewish themes to convey or who have a message contrary to the media's Israel-Jewish agenda, normally engender criticism from the notorious Anti-Defamation League in terms similar to those by director Abraham Foxman, who claimed that complaints of Jewish control of the U.S. media are "used as a propaganda staple by anti-Semitic hate-mongers and political extremists, and by demagogues seeking a scapegoat to blame for complex problems."[12] The article in which the remark was made exhibited many of the stock phrases and buzzwords commonly used to defame anyone who dares to buck Israel's Jewish agenda in the U.S. media: "ravings of a small-minded bigot," "anti-Semitic views," "going around trying to hurt Jews," "not thinking clearly," "not very bright," "hidden depths of ignorance," "they have the disease," and so forth.[13]

Negative Jewish stereotypes are hard to find in the U.S. media. The "numerous" stereotypes cited in the *Washington Post* article include Spike Lee's 1990 depiction of two greedy and odious Jewish nightclub owners, and four other movies, along with the comment by the article's writer to the effect that if Jews were so much in control of the media, why couldn't they have done a better job of keeping these five negative Jewish stereotypes off the air. Over the thirty years of Israeli propaganda in the U.S. media, it is not surprising that there have been five movies with negative Jewish stereotypes. These movies serve to support the claim that Jews are also attacked in the media. The difference in scope is paralleled by the difference in the scale of the imagery. Where the Jews in the movies cited were engaged in seriously antisocial conduct, such as eating a plateful of greasy pork chops (Woody Allen's "bad Jews") or depicting odious characters, the imagery against Arab-Americans, German-

Americans, and others considered by the controlled Jewish media to be enemies of Israel is overwhelming.

The list of positive Jewish stereotypes is much more common. Common themes that depict the "heroic Jew," the glories of Jewish heritage, noble Jewish spirituality, mysteries of the Talmud, and saintliness of the main Jewish characters abound. One of the earliest anti-Arab films was silent screen star Rudolph Valentino's 1921 portrayal as Sheik Ahmed Ben Hassan in *The Sheik* and his 1926 reprise in *The Son of the Sheik*. These movies typically portrayed Arabs as swarthy and somewhat sinister.

Political tensions in the Middle East after 1948 instigated a bumper crop of pro-Israel and anti-Arab propaganda films from Hollywood. The first of these was *Exodus*, based on the novel by Leon Uris. It was deliberately commissioned by politically motivated publicist Edward Gottlieb to popularize Israel and demonize Arabs. *Exodus* was followed by *Judith* and *Cast a Giant Shadow*, all espousing pro-Israeli politics and Arab hate mongering.

In the 1970s, Hollywood's Arab villains were replaced by Arab terrorists, exploiting international events with exaggerated scenarios. Movies like *Black Sunday* (1977) featured a plot about a crazed and disgruntled American worker (Bruce Dern) who, with Arab terrorist help, attaches a nail-filled bomb to the Goodyear Blimp. His plans are to detonate it over a Super Bowl game, only to be stopped by the persistence of the Mossad agent (Robert Shaw).

The Arab terrorist theme continued into the early 1980s when the features more closely followed actual terrorist events. Films in the 1990s returned to the plots of horrendous fantasy, offering up such memorable movies as the *Iron Eagle* series (an eighteen-year-old defeats the combined armies of ruthless Middle Eastern tyrants); the *Delta Force* series (American hostages are rescued from the clutches of Arab kidnappers); *Navy Seals* (1990); *True Lies* (1995); *Executive Decision* (1996); and *G.I. Jane* (1997).

A minimal list of films since 1967 that glorifies heroic Israeli leaders and vilifies Arabs includes the following: *21 Hours, A Black to the Promised Land, A Woman Called Golda, Black Sunday, Cast a*

Giant Shadow, *Death before Dishonor*, *Desperate Rescue*, *Exodus*, *For Their Own Good*, *Iron Eagle*, *Iron Eagle II*, *Israeli Diary*, *Jack Van Impe Presents Armageddon*, *Jerusalem*, *Jihad in America*, *Jimmy Swaggart*, *Let My People Go*, *Ministry of Vengeance*, *Navy SEALS*, *Not without My Daughter*, *Outpost in Morocco*, *Pillar of Fire*, *Protocol*, *PTL*, *From Israel*, *Raid on Entebbe*, *Rollover*, *Rosebud*, *Steal the Sky*, *Sword of Gideon*, *Terrorist on Trial*, *The Death of Klinghoffer*, *The Delta Force*, *The Dhimmis: To Be a Jew in Arab Lands*, *The Finest Hour*, *The Jerusalem File*, *The Little Drummer Boy*, *Triumph and Tragedy*, *True Lies*, *Victory at Entebbe*, and *Wanted Dead or Alive*.

In *The Siege* (1998), starring Bruce Willis and Denzel Washington, acts of terrorism and rumors of impending greater horrors prompt the FBI, the army, and police to organize a countereffort that includes rounding up all the Arabs and Muslims in New York City who might be considered potential terrorists and holding them in barbed wire camps.[14]

The Siege shows a consistency in patterns of propaganda with other anti-Arab films. It can be classified as a "hate film" in that it does not portray an overall positive image of Arabs or Arab-Americans. As many viewer comments note, the anti-Arab propaganda themes are immediately obvious.

Here are a few of the hate-aggression trends that are shown in the movie:

- The movie's primary message is that Arab-Americans are foreign language–speaking Muslims with Middle Eastern accents. This is the most significant reinforced idea in the film, which dovetails with mathematical precision with its opposite, the all-American Jew, present in a wide proliferation of films and animations.
- Arab-American nationalistic duplicity is presented as a plausible reason for the U.S. Army to declare martial law.
- Arab terrorism is a likely reason for Americans to lose their freedom.
- The film contains a proliferation of bombs and emotional trauma focusing on dead women and children at the hands of Arab-American fanatics.

- Language explicitly refers to "letting those people" into the country.
- Arab men are sniveling cowards who kill kids, bomb buses, and abuse women.
- Arab men are male chauvinists who dream of living on in paradise with seventy virgins.
- Arab men can be controlled by treating them like children and appealing to their egos: "Samir," she pleaded in her best mommy-like voice, "I need you to be strong, like you've always been strong for me."
- Arab men are terrorists who will kill children and women first: Arabs versus your children. This imagery is also a continuation of a very long-playing cultural propaganda theme.

President Clinton's footage in the film is a vivid example of his willingness to support Israeli wartime propaganda in the United States.

In his review of a chic fascist film called *Starship Troopers*, CNN reviewer Paul Tatara said, "There's a lot going on in *Starship Troopers* that's nowhere near as benign as people want to pretend it is. The movie's special effects, at $100 million, are spectacular, but the intelligent viewer leaves the theater dumbstruck."

The story is set in a futuristic society in which war-glorifying propaganda films are repeatedly shown on television, and citizenship is only given to people who join the military. The officers in that military have no qualms about breaking an arm or shoving a knife through the hand or horsewhipping people who step out of line. The uniforms are near-exact duplicates of the ones worn by Hitler's SS troops, including the signature "shiny jackboots."

When these Beverly Hills Aryans go into battle, it's against faceless masses, huge bugs that are considered so brainless that all you have to do is spray bullets into them and watch the guts fly. It is a "war" movie in which the enemy is not expected to be capable of any kind of strategic thought, and the heroes just gather them together and kill as many as they can all at once. The enemy is not human anyway. With joyous, chest-pounding mutilations, bodies and bugs explode, and

people get ripped in half. The physical, psychological, and emotionally violent hits just keep on coming.

Miramax, a subsidiary of the Walt Disney Company, has produced several Arab-bashing films in recent years, such as *Father of the Bride, Part II* and *Kazaam*. The Disney movie *G.I. Jane* features a gratuitous end sequence with star Demi Moore and her Navy Seal chums on a rampage killing Arabs. This is apparently how Moore can show that she is truly worthy of being a Seal. Once again, scores of faceless Arabs bite the dust, and the world is better off with their extermination.[15] Once known for its children's programming, Disney is apparently engaging at least one of its moviemaking subsidiaries in a holy war against Arabs. The movie studio's vision of diversity seems to be that characters of various ethnicity and both genders get to slam Arabs. Jackie Chan spent half of *Operation Condor* slugging out Arabs. The film, which is about an adventurer hired to recover a cache of stolen gold hidden in North Africa by Nazis at the end of World War II, perpetuates negative stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims as violent, irrational, and unscrupulous. *Kazaam* had numerous Arab stereotypes; *Father of the Bride, Part II* had Steve Martin dealing with a grotesque Arab character and *In the Army Now* showed G.I.s clobbering desert Arabs and encouraging the air force to "blow the hell out of them."[16]

Conclusion

What percentage of your life do you focus on your hopes and aspirations instead of on your needs, responsibilities, or escapes? Cinema and television fill the void created by the abundance of timesaving devices: automobiles, washing machines, and microwave ovens. It is a superbly engineered communications network that creates and destroys heroes, villains, friends, and enemies through "news," depiction, insinuation, innuendo, direct suggestion through visual or audible recognition, and other tools in a set of techniques designed to work interactively.

The enormous amount of violence that has become so commonplace as to be blasé has created a whole generation of children suffering from behavior problems, such as obsessive-compulsive behavior (tailored to boys), and bulimia-anorexia (tailored to girls). These

children are actually exhibiting symptoms resulting from overexposure to emotionally violent media, especially television.

The purpose of continuous vivid portrayals of morbid, sadistic, and vicious social behavior in the media is to keep the audience subconsciously prepared to respond to racism with antisocial behavior, anarchy, and destructive revenge. The mass media, especially television and cinema, show us outraged city residents of murder-infested neighborhoods marching with candles and placards in an attempt to "take back the streets." They really need to take back the airwaves, take back the culture, and take back the media.

A famous U.S. political radical once said that the revolution will not be televised. That may be so, but in the final analysis, U.S. media in the twentieth century will be much more able to cause a revolution, to jangle the nerves of the viewing public, to incite them easily to perform the kinds of violence that they have been accustomed to viewing, and to accept violence as the normal act of justice by retribution. The media will be able to do this, regardless of the actions of government, because they have had decades to lay the prepropaganda groundwork. By keeping a threshold background level of anger, rage, and violence, the media are perpetually at the point of exhorting viewers to action. The media, most specifically television and cinema, hold the government hostage to mass instigated violence.

[1] An article that put the reader in an analytical frame of mind did not encourage the reader to take seriously an ad that depended on fantasy or promoted a trivial product (Bagdikian 1990, p. 138).

[2] Andison 1977, p. 314–31; Greenberg, and Wotring vol 18 no. 4, (Fall 1974) 473–80; Krull and Watt 1977, pp. 99–112; Thornton and Voight 1984, pp. 445–68; Hartnagel, Teevan, and McIntyre 1975, pp. 341–51; Kaplan and Singer 1976, pp. 35–56; Teevan and. Hartnagel , pp. 337–47; and Roloff and Greenberg 1979, pp. 285–300.

[3] Fleming 1994, p. 5.

[4] The following movies and episodes from television serial programming have been characterized as anti-Arab and/or pro-Israel racist by more than one organization: *Yentl*, *Short Stories*, *Bonjour!*, *A Stranger Among Us*, *Hester Street*, *Talmud and the Scholar*, *Moise*, *The Angel Levine*, *Oasis in Time*, *Passover: Festival of Freedom*, *Eternal Light*, *The Chosen*, *Thirtysomething*, *Ghetto Ten*, *L'Chaim To Life*, *Cheers*, *The Young Lawyers*, *Reasonable Doubts*, *The Century of Teddy Kollek*, *Lodz Ghetto*, *Brooklyn Bridge*, *The Quarrel*, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, *The Attic: The Hiding of Anne Frank*, *Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, *World of Anne Frank*, *Children of the Holocaust*, *Why Wasn't He Here?*, *Tango of Slaves*, *Prisoner without a Name*, *Joshua Then and Now*, *Forced March*, *Avenue Z Afternoon*, *Avalon*, *Tales of the Days of Awe*, *The Papal Concert to Commemorate the Holocaust*, *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*, *Bob Costas*, *Beyond Hate*, *Facing Hate*, *The Frisco Kid*, *Miss Rose White*, *Neil Simons Broadway Bound*, *Magnum P.I.*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *The Last Klezmer*, *Crossing Delancey*, *Lies My Father Told Me*, *Charlie Grant's War*, *Angry Harvest*, *The Pawnbroker*, *Night Gallery*, *The Waltons*, *L.A. Law*, *Homicide*, *The Murder of Mary Phagan*, *Heritage Conversations*, *The Quarrel*, *The Sorrow and the Pity*, *Selling Murder*, *A Doctor's Story*, *Silent Witness*, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, *Sisters*, *Struggles for Poland*, *Where Shall We Go?*, *Night Court*, *Northern Exposures* (features the charming Jewish doctor Joel Fleischman, M.D), *The Hiding Place* (saintly Jews are persecuted by evil Germans), *My Hundred Children*, *For Those I Loved*, *Judith*, *Daniel*, *Mr. Halpern and Mr. Johnson*, *Sunday Today*, *Patrimony: Judaica in the Vatican*, *The Final Solution: Auschwitz*, *Forbidden*, *Wiseguy*, *The Last Metro*, *MacGyver*, *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*, *Perry Mason: The Case of the Desperate Deception*, *Tenspeed and Brownshoe* (heroic Jeff Goldblum battles neo-Nazis run amok in the United States in this series pilot), *Europa, Europa*, *A Day in the Warsaw Ghetto: A Birthday Trip in Hell*, *Two Half-Times in Hell*, *Chasing Shadows*, *Speak Up! Its So Dark*, *The Summer of Aviya*, *Breaking the Silence*, *Babylon 5*, *Star Trek*, *Never Forget*, *An American Tail: Fievel Goes West*, *Schindler's List*, *Schindler*, *Primetime Live*.

[5] KCTS-TV Channel 9, 4/2/91, 11pm.

[6] Television Channel 28 (Columbus) 8:00 movie.

[7] ADC 1999.

[8] Aired on November 2, 1995, channel 20.

[9] An article by Waxman 1997, p. G8.

[10] *Washington Post* 1994, p. C-7.

[11] Garrett 1994.

[12] From Rosenfeld 1996.

[13] From Rosenfeld 1996.

[14] Hanania 1999. Ray Hanania's columns are archived on the Internet at www.hanania.com.

[15] Hanania 1997.

[16] Disney, unlike other major studios, has repeatedly declined to meet with the the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

6. Government Regulation

We killed them...believing with absolute certitude that now, with the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in our hands, the lives of others do not count as much as our own....

Israeli columnist Ari Shavit reflecting on Israel Defense Force's killing of civilians.[1]

The most powerful reason and motivation to expend enormous amounts of energy to control U.S. public opinion is to be able to manipulate the activities of the Federal government. In the United States, this can be done in two ways: through the Congress, which allocates funds and initiates actions, or through the president who can take unilateral action. Controlling the government requires control of the office of the presidency and control of Congress. For the past fifty years, these two pillars of government, the executive branch and Congress, have been under relentless attack by Israel. The media, as we have seen, have become a powerful weapon, a behavior and history modification tool used by the Israelis to shape agendas of U.S. public opinion. The power of Israel's lobby is often likened to that of the gun and tobacco lobbies. There is one enormous difference, however. Newspapers aren't afraid to criticize the gun and tobacco lobbies. The federal government claims to be sensitive to public opinion, and politicians of local and national stature regularly invoke "the will of the people" to legitimate their decisions.

It should not be a surprise to discover that Israel can control the outcome of many decisions from the White House, the Senate, and much of the U.S. media. It cannot control all the decisions all the time, nor does it try to, but organized efforts to promote specific legislation are considerable. Many Jewish writers refer to Israel's "steadily increasing influence upon U.S. policies." The U.S. viewpoint, however, says it all:

> ...the ability to spend more on elections than any other special interest in the United States while remaining

> virtually invisible to the public, and to evade with impunity the letter and spirit of the law limiting contributions to congressional candidates, are only two of the special qualities of the pro-Israel PACs.[2]

An investigation into the last presidency and cabinet of the United States in the twentieth century, the stressed-out Congress, and paralyzed government agencies show the extent of the damage, corruption, and malaise brought on by the invisible enemy.

The Last Presidency of the Twentieth Century

Weak presidential leadership has given Israel a free hand in American politics and U.S. foreign policy in particular. Nowhere was this mounting foreign influence more evident than in the last presidential cabinet of the twentieth century. Although Jewish Congressional membership dropped between the 104th and the 103rd Congresses, American Jews filled most executive positions in President Clinton's White House. One example was Daniel Glickman, who lost election to Congress only to be picked up as the Secretary of Agriculture. Many other positions were filled by AIPAC's's choice candidates: the Labor Secretary, International Trade Secretary, Treasury Secretary, at least one senior presidential adviser, the State Department Middle East Desk, Deputy National Security and National Security Advisers, Deputy Chief of Staff, the Attorney General, White House Staff Director, and Media Director in Charge of Volunteers and Health Programs. This kind of connection was used when Israeli officials, worried about Russian Jews bolting for the United States rather than for Israel in the U.S. financed Russian immigration program in Israel, could rely on the Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) for Russia, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe for help, without the hassle of legislation, Congressional approval, or presidential concern.

The president of AIPAC boasted in 1992 that AIPAC would have people at every level of the Clinton Administration, and that he personally was "negotiating" over who would be Clinton's secretary of state. When Clinton assumed office, the boasts by AIPAC President Steiner about the influence of the Israel lobby, who resigned when

they were revealed, were largely fulfilled. The brags were clearly targets of strategic political value from Israel's point of view, and largely accomplished through the efforts of an internationally organized, goal-driven, conspiratorial network.

The situation was not much different in the president's office, which was heavily staffed with American Jews doing their bit for Israel: White House counsel, Abner Mikva; the president's schedule and programs manager, Ricki Seidman; the deputy chief of staff, Phil Leida; the economic adviser, Robert Rubin; the media director, David Heiser; the staff director, Alice Rubin; the staff member in charge of volunteers, Ely Segal; and the health program czar, Ira Magaziner. Two cabinet members, Labor Secretary Robert Reich and Mickey Kantor, in charge of international trade agreements, are American Jews. They are joined by a long list of senior Jewish officials in the State Department, headed by the chief of the Middle East peace team, Dennis Ross, and followed by many deputy secretaries and even more senior secretaries' chiefs of staff.

The choice for U.S. ambassador to Israel, Ned Walker, was a classic example of the international conspiratorial player inserted to control U.S. diplomatic power. Walker studied Hebrew in Israel, and also volunteered at a kibbutz. An Israeli ambassador to Washington served as his mentor.

In the National Security Council, a majority of the top staff members were American Jews. Clinton especially placed them in the most sensitive junctions in the U.S. security and foreign policy administrations: the deputy chairman of the council, Sandy Berger; senior director in charge of the Middle East and South Asia, Martin Indyk; oversight of Western Europe, Dan Schifter; overs ight of Africa, Don Steinberg; oversight of Latin America, Richard Feinberg; and oversight of Asia, Stanley Ross. The Clinton national security team includes a political advisor, Rahm Emanuel, a volunteer in the Israeli army.

Clinton chose an Australian Zionist, Martin Indyk, whose naturalization as a U.S. citizen had to be accelerated, to assume the White House Middle East advisor positions. Indyk was a former paid AIPAC lobbyist. Another former lobbyist for Israel, Dennis Ross, was retained

in the State Department to back up the Middle East peace talks. He brought Samuel Lewis, eight years as U.S. ambassador to Israel, back from retirement to serve as State Department director of policy and plans. Hard-line American Jews now occupy the key Middle East posts in the White House and State department, and openly claim that they steer the course and determine the policy in U.S.-Israeli relations.[3]

Television reminds us that the main reason for violence on the streets is not violent programming, but rather the proliferation of weapons. Israel has become the leading supplier of assault weapons to U.S. streets, prompting what has become over the past forty years a spree of street crime unique to the civilized world. Clinton, responding to a request from 34 house members to the Israel president, *asked* the Israeli government to suspend the sale of Uzis and Galils pending a Treasury Department review, and has asked if it was all right to temporarily ban the import of the weapons. The Clinton Administration appears unable to direct even domestic programs, such as gun control, if the impact has a negative effect for Israel's economy.

Congress: PACs

Israel is active in the U.S. political process, and that fallout is reverberating throughout the U.S. Senate. AIPAC regularly interferes with federal elections by directing illegal PAC contributions from a wide number of pro-Israel PACs to specific candidates at the national and local levels of government.

> The public's deep antipathy toward government is one of the most important political facts of this decade. The near-total collapse of public confidence in political institutions is attributable to many things—the extraordinary increase in size and intrusiveness of government, the arrogance of the political class, toxic campaigns, the superficial coverage and cynical attitude of some media, banal rhetoric, habitual overpromising, corrupt public officials, and the passage of a lot of very bad legislation. The common citizenry knows that great segments of American society are in the midst of serious moral decline.[4]

When congressional voting has anything to do with Israel, constituent wishes go out the window and AIPAC forces the outcome. A clear picture of this effect was offered by the California Senate's passage of an Assembly Bill calling for investment of California pension funds in Israeli bonds. The bill was introduced to the state assembly, where it passed by a wide margin. Many protestors wondered why the California State Employees Association and the Public Employees Retirement System did not file objections against the bill, which called for the investment of their pension funds in high-risk (BBB-rated) Israeli bonds. The bill was challenged, and on a revote, passed 45 to 23.[5]

Of the 116 deceptively named pro-Israel political action committees that have been active over the past 18 years, 63 were at work in the 1993–94 election cycle. They had collected more than $4 million and had donated less than $1 million to a total of 169 candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives. Two features make pro-Israel PACs unique. One is the deceptive names that mask their pro-Israel agenda. The other is their sheer number. Most special interests have one to three or four PACs. No other lobby has ever had such a multiplicity of PACs. This replication enables the Israeli lobby to circumvent federal election laws that prevent a PAC from donating more than $10,000 to a single candidate in a single election cycle. Documented figures indicate that they have donated many times the limit to numerous senatorial candidates. Such donations indicate that the recipient has toed the line laid down by AIPAC in terms of floor votes, signatures on letters to the president expressing "the sense of the Congress" and votes in key committees that set and protect the level of military and economic aid to Israel. In previous elections, AIPAC officers have boasted that the private donations they can generate for candidates double the totals that appear on these charts. "Now that the deceptively named pro-Israel PACs have been publicly identified, candidates may be even more likely to request their AIPAC-generated support in the form of personal rather than PAC contributions.[6]

All the money Israel pays out to its PACs is provided by U.S. taxpayers, who are in effect paying for the subversion of their own political processes. Israel also pays out in United States–provided

dollars to cover the interest on its outstanding U.S. loans. Remember, Israel gets $17 million per day in foreign aid grants and loan guarantees. This money is also U.S. taxpayer money that has been granted to Israel thanks to the Cranston Amendment, a treasonous piece of legislation. Because of it, Israel has never repaid a loan from the United States because, thanks to this amendment, Congress forgives all U.S. loans to Israel.[7] The entire illegal trade in PAC money has become the single most destructive activity in the U.S. political system.

Brooklyn Congressman Stephen S. Solarz was nominated for Ambassador to India after he wrote the third largest number of bad checks in the 1991 House banking scandal. In a 1973 letter to his constituents entitled "Delivering for Israel," he explained that he took an assignment to the House Foreign Affairs Committee "to better serve the needs of Israel." The letter detailed how he intervened with then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to win for Israel a considerably higher foreign aid appropriation and tax exemptions.

A task force chaired by a New Jersey member of Congress charges that a confederation of Arab states is anxiously waiting for an excuse to launch an all-out war against Israel. The scenario for the supposed war will include missile strikes involving conventional, chemical, and biological warheads. While "there is no hard evidence, yet, of a specific decision to start something on a fixed date," Arab leaders "are waiting for the inevitable spark to emerge and 'compel' them into taking action." These are the conclusions of the House Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. The principal author of the report, "Approaching the New Cycle of Arab-Israeli Fighting," is the task force's director, Yossef Bodansky, an Israeli.[8]

Congress grants nonprofit, tax-exempt status to Jewish-American charities and groups, such as the World Jewish Congress (WJC). Tax exemption means that the organization will not endorse political positions. The WJC, however, is right in the middle of the Jonathan Pollard spying-for-Israel controversy, claiming the moral authority to correct the U.S. judicial system's obvious mistakes. With the extra tax money, national Jewish organizations developed profitable and efficient money-producing businesses under the guise of nonprofits that are quite capable of promoting their own interests and agendas.

Half the funds collected from donations for Israeli government development work remains in the United States for use by Israel's propaganda organizations. They mobilize the support network and lobby Congress and the executive branch to provide more money, weapons, and propaganda for Israel.[9] They serve as redistribution networks for campaign funds. AIPAC is the largest of these groups, and the network umbrella organization. AIPAC, claiming more than 55,000 members, is normally active in over 2,000 national legislative issues. It has been especially active in persuading Jewish-Americans to accept the heavily promoted American Jewish exclusivism, and its successes have included notorious people like Jonathan Pollard and Baruch Goldstein.[10]

It isn't necessary in the dirty game of politics to attack an enemy for political reasons—the best silencing technique isn't usually politically related, even though it is politically motivated. Senator Packwood of Oregon was persecuted in the media for sexual escapades, he probably suffered more from his lack of support for Israel. Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA), a pro-Israel Jewish congressman in the House, was in the news for homosexual and drug-related activities and became a media hero for the gay vote.[11] The difference in their crimes is purely a matter of media emphasis and bias. The kind of threat that politicians face from the Israel lobby is the carrot and stick. The National Association of Broadcasters isn't subtle in making its opposition known to senators. To Senator John McCain (R-AR), NAB threatened to "whip his ass" on his positions related to the use of air waves. AIPAC makes no such public threats, but uses media to create Packwoods and Franks, depending ultimately on the elected official's enthusiasm of Israeli issues in Congress.

Nominations for U.S. Secretary of State (Madeline Albright) and Secretary of Defense (William Cohen) sailed through House and Senate confirmation hearings with hardly a question raised, and certainly none that would have caused personal embarrassment. Ted Koppel: "tough confirmation hearings, golly, we see that all the time. It's the stuff DC is made of..." Koppel goes into wordy quoted detail to say why the Clinton nominee to head the intelligence agencies faced tough confirmation hearings. Israel wants to handpick the head of U.S. intelligence services, and is quite capable of manipulating Congress to get the person it wants.

James Abourezk, an Arab-American and former senator from North Dakota, is most significant in his role as an example of the problems faced by politicians who place the interests of their constituents before the interests of Israel and the Israeli lobby. His actions have been especially powerful demonstrations of the problems that Arab-Americans, largely anti-Zionist and against aid to Israel, face in any profession of public prominence, although Abourezk was not a loud or exclusive voice in the U.S. expression of anti-Zionism. Ralph Nader, to maintain his media accessibility, has seemingly never mentioned a word about foreign policy or the Middle East in his entire maverick thirty-year odyssey in the corner of the U.S. public's eye.

AIPAC darlings like Arlen Specter, a Republican senator from Pennsylvania and a 1996 U.S. presidential candidate, presided over the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Government Information. The new terrorism bill in reality was designed as a mechanism to put Arab-Americans under surveillance. The terrorism bill was supported not only by Specter, but by two other Jewish Congressmen: Herbert Kohl (D-WI) and Charles Schumer (D-NY), both of whom were closely tied to AIPAC, the Israeli Lobby. Specter also headed the Senate Intelligence Committee, and at the same time pushed for the release of the American Jewish spy, Jonathan Pollard. Lawyer Alan Dershowitz has led the charge calling for the release of Jonathan Pollard. Pollard, who sold nuclear technology and spy satellite secrets to Israel and who never participated as a rank-and-file, active duty member of the Navy, inflicted irreparable damage to U.S. interests when he turned over hundreds of thousands of classified documents to Israel. As a civilian Navy analyst, he made a comfortable living copying top secret U.S. files. Israel granted his wife Israeli citizenship for her involvement in the anti-U.S. espionage. The terrorism bill was supported not only by Specter, but by two other AIPAC congressmen: Herbert Kohl (D-WI) and Charles Schumer (D-NY).

At the far end of the Israel debate in Congress, Senator Bob Dole did question, as late as 1990, why as little as 5 percent of Israel's annual budget could not be redistributed to Eastern Europe and other aid recipients.[12] The wife of the Speaker of the House was given a lucrative

position with a firm that was creating an Israeli free trade zone with the United States shortly after her husband lent political support to the proposal in Congress.[13] And even though under current law, no country can get more than $25 million a year in loans, AIPAC manipulated Congress into granting a huge loan, drawn on U.S. banks, to build housing for Soviet Jews in Israel.[14]

Congress may be showing signs of nervous breakdown. A dysfunctional, neurotic organization, it tends to be intensely un-American with its Israel legislation. Bad deals for Americans are rampant, such as the Cranston Amendment, bad check scandals, sex scandals, media stunts (such as making 76 senators stand up for Israel in 1976), bogus "sense of the Congress" letters, and amendments to existing agreements that themselves were theft.[15] Congressman Barney Frank got slapped on the wrist for grotesque disfiguration of congressional stature, while impeachment for President Clinton was contemplated because of a sex scandal. The media portrayed the Republicans as corrupt Ottomans bent upon vengeance and sensationalist moral impudence. The scandal effectively destroyed Republican credibility for the 2000 elections.

The FBI and the CIA

In response to the new "terrorist threat" in the mid-1990s, the U.S. senators under Israeli influence demanded and the media orchestrated the congressional hand-over of new powers and increased funds to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (BI).[16] The cry that "we are not doing enough about terrorism" effectively aided the creation of a new national surveillance policy that coordinates its activities with military and intelligence resources. The FBI stands at the center of this new, robust system. The bureau's budget increased by half, from $2.1 billion to over $3 billion in 1997. Its expanded responsibilities include a wider scope of legal jurisdiction, revising the rules governing investigations, and a growing integration with the rest of the national security establishment.[17]

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) tactics are the same tactics used against Americans by Israel's sympathizers.[18] In the 1960s and 1970s, the FBI had been regularly carrying out wiretapping, burglary, and

undercover efforts against perceived dissidents. Office of the Socialist Workers Party, which is a legal political party, were burglarized for the purpose of disrupting its activities, stealing its membership lists, using the membership lists to intimidate people who joined the party, getting them to lose their jobs, and so forth. Despite condemnations of their activities in the 1970s, the Justice Department produced guidelines that gave the FBI a secret court and supervisory rules of conduct. As a result of its new ability to spy on individuals with mere conspiratorial intent as a ruse, the number of domestic security investigations is close to 1,000 cases.

Congress has handed the FBI new powers and an unprecedented increase in funding to create a national police system that combines the intelligence agencies of federal, state, and local resources. The driving force behind this movement in Congress has been the threat of terrorism, amplified by the Oklahoma City bombing. Congress increased the budget of the FBI dramatically in the late 1990s, and eagerly contributed to the creation of a robust national police system led by the FBI.

Lording over the new-found power of the FBI to investigate—or not investigate—U.S. groups and individuals at will and without oversight has been Louis Freeh, whose ten-year reign over the bureau will end in 2003.[19] His close relationships with pro-Israel senators and congressmen is an ominous reminder that the power of the FBI is being handed off to Jewish hate groups in a frivolous and unguarded way. Specter, echoing the spirit of Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s, clearly thinks that terrorism is the main threat to Americans at home and abroad, and he is not concerned with the effect that excessive federal police powers may have on U.S. traditions and personal freedom, or with the widespread fear that this uncontrolled force will be abused by national or foreign interests.

Omnibus Counterterrorism Bills S. 390 and H.R. 896 proposed to give the FBI a charter to investigate political groups. It was initiated by the FBI and passed on by the Justice Department and the White House. Senators Biden (D-DE) and Specter (R-PA) initiated it in the Senate, and Reps. Schumer (D-NY) and Dicks (D-WA) initiated it in the House.

This is a general charter for the FBI and other agencies, including the military, to investigate political groups and causes at will. The bill is a wide-ranging federalization of different kinds of actions applying to both citizens and noncitizens. It includes acts of violence (attempts, threats, and conspiracies), as well as giving funds for legal, humanitarian activities.

It would allow up to ten-year sentences for citizens and deportation for permanent resident noncitizens for the "crime" of supporting the lawful activities of an organization the president or Congress declares to be "terrorist," such as the African National Congress, the FMLN in El Salvador, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It broadens the definition of terrorism to include domestic support for any international political action. The president's determination of who is a terrorist cannot be appealed, and specifically can include groups regardless of any legitimate activity they might pursue.

It authorizes secret trials for immigrants who are not charged with a crime but rather who are accused of supporting lawful activity by organizations that have also been accused of committing illegal acts. Immigrants could be deported in these ways: (1) by using evidence they or their lawyers will never see; (2) in secret proceedings; (3) with prosecutor-only appeals; and (4) using illegally obtained evidence. It suspends *posse comitatus*, and allows the use of the military to aid the police regardless of other laws. It reverses the presumption of innocence: the accused is presumed ineligible for bail and can be detained until trial. It loosens the rules for wiretaps. It would prohibit probation as a punishment under the act—even for minor nonviolent offenses. Since the new offense does not cover any new crimes, the main purpose of the legislation is to avoid certain constitutional and statutory protections that would otherwise apply.

The new director of the CIA in the Clinton Administration, John M. Deutsch, quickly tried to assume control of all U.S. intelligence apparatus. Although claiming to be on a crusade to fight waste and abuse in the agencies, Deutsch, whose overriding interest in military intelligence is widely noted, quickly appointed three known U.S. Zionists to positions immediately under him, making Israel's adherents effectively in control of the CIA, while trying to consolidate the

information and control of all other U.S. intelligence agency activities. CIA management was turned over to a former congressional staff member with almost no real experience, but with a Jewish background, and who was a supporter of Israel. She was given extraordinary authority over clandestine collections, space, and technology branches of the CIA. Veteran CIA personnel and administrators expressed concern about what is happening inside the agency.[20]

Officials at other agencies have warned that Deutsch's attention to military-related intelligence is "excessive." Deutsch is pursuing reforms to determine how polygraphs are used and how the flow of government information is protected from spying by foreign governments; trying to forge "tighter links with senior policymakers, lawmakers, and foreign governments;" and focusing on problems, such as terrorism, narcotics, international crime, and weapons proliferation.[21]

Reciprocity agreements with foreign governments not only allow the FBI counterterrorism unit to reach into foreign intelligence databases, but they also allow foreign governments to reach into U.S. resources. With presidential decision directive 24 putting the FBI in charge of the CIA's counterintelligence activities, and directive 39 naming the FBI as the lead investigative agency, analysts from U.S. intelligence and police agencies can now be tasked to spy on Americans who find fault with Israel and U.S. foreign policy.

All this is interesting for what it tells us about the United States. Frank discussion of Israel appears to be permitted in Israel (or so say the media), but it is permitted in the United States only to the extent that it promotes the appearance that the laws of the land are not completely breached by foreign intrigue. Charges of anti-Semitism and a quiet but very well organized economic boycott network work together to reward any politician who calls attention to Israeli political servitude, and mass-mediated character assassination of Israel's opponents.

The Arab Diplomatic Corps in Washington

There have been no recent systematic attempts by U.S. foreign policy experts to build open and honest diplomatic relations with the Arab nations. After the Oil Crisis of 1972, mass mediated imagery of Arabs portrayed the evil sheik, with headgear, dagger, and goatee completing

an image of the new political bogeyman. When the caricaturing finally died down, the images of Arabs in American media focused on negative portrayals of more complex social characteristics. Where the United Kingdom and France both have always had a cadre of Islamic experts in advisory roles in the government, as well as in commercial policy,[22] the United States appears to rely instead upon an agreement or disagreement with portrayals in the media to determine attitude and consequent direction in foreign policy.

In part, the lack of U.S. interest in the Arab world is exacerbated by the enormously immature and cavalier attitude of the majority of the Arab diplomats in the United States. Arab diplomats appear to be of a mindset reminiscent of Ottoman Turkish rule: a slavish subservience to corrupt bureaucracy, and fear of using imagination or intellect in any way. The Ottoman mindset is hardly remembered in popular U.S. lore. In fact, given that the Turks terrorized the West for hundreds of years, there are no stories other than of the likes of Mehmet VI, his many wives, concubines, eunuchs, and servants, and a life of debilitating hedonism, mindless luxury, and weakness of mind. It was not the moral or intellectual strength of the Ottoman rulers that kept the Turkish Empire alive for so long, but rather the highly organized bureaucratic network. We still see the caliph in twentieth century Arab diplomats in the United States.

Perceived as ambassadors from countries with leaders bereft of will and ignorant of the methods or purpose for influencing world events, they are widely perceived as playboys who prefer to play the same decadent games as Mehmet VI.:

> ...Saudi with its moron/kings, name them the way you like, are nothing but cows that feeds the American thirst to oil. They were, are, and will be a shameful spot in the Arab history. Don't get me wrong, I don't blame them. It is just the way they are. I might be endorsing the blame on genetics, going with the modern fashion ! If homosexuality and criminal acts are controlled by genetics, why not treason and cowardliness...
>
> From an Arabic news group on the Internet

Add drugs, television, fast cars, bad manners, and whores, and you have the stereotypical picture of twentieth century Arab diplomats in the United States.

These diplomats typify their people, in that they hold positions of extraordinary potential influence, yet contribute very little to the events of the world. Never before in history has a society had so much strategic and financial power, yet so little willpower or imaginative strength to use their assets to the advantage of any higher causes. Bitterly narrow-minded, suspicious, and interested only in immediate, personal temporal comfort, Arab regimes cast a dark pall of stunted feudalism over the whole of Islam. The diplomats fielded by the Arab countries to the United States, with few exceptions during the last fifty years, have been politically worthless, have provided minimal service or information of value, and continue to function as if their main duty is to lobby the U.S. Congress for handouts, and otherwise to act in the manner of Ottoman caliphs.

The common thought patterns of our minds have changed in the era of television. Our beliefs are more difficult to challenge, so the media pursue the psychology of destroying reasons for having beliefs at all. Far from being an amoral society, our understanding of right and wrong are actually much more sharply defined by those same principles of science that bring on the maladies of our time. Psychological studies of the audience redefined across demographic lines identify the elements necessary for the construction of society and the structures of the human mind that bind societies together and tear them apart.

Israel's war against the United States has had the effect of exaggerating the perceived influence of some sovereign states over the United States while minimizing the impact of Israel's influence. The most recent example of this has been a mass-mediated pseudo-event in which FBI and CIA collusion supposedly uncovered a Chinese conspiracy to influence Chinese-American votes in local and national elections. At issue was a relatively small campaign contribution made to the Democratic Party by a moneyed crony of vice president Al Gore.

Subverting American Nationalism

Most of the Jews in Congress or the Administration are busy making decisions and articulating policy, all actively considered for programs and projects that Israel benefits from. Israel's controlled and guided network has promoted projects through them whereby the United States will build products that the military doesn't need or use, but for which Israel has a military or strategic need. This kind of legislation contributes to bloating and fraud in the budgets of weapons and intelligence-gathering agencies.

The list of acceptable espionage goes on and on when Israel is the recipient or American Jews are the culprits. Ronald Hoffman, an American engineer working with Plume Technology in Los Angeles, was discovered selling top-secret defense technology to four Japanese companies, and was also investigated to determine how much of it he had sold to firms in Israel. The Japanese companies were not named by the government. Hoffman's computer software systems company, known as Contam, analyzed the exhaust trails of launched missiles.

The Justice Department has made public the role former assistant Navy consultant Melvyn Paisley allegedly played in convicted consultant William Galvin's deal to steer an unmanned aerial vehicle contract to Mazlat of Israel. A forty-two–page "criminal information" document was filed in an Alexandria, Virginia, federal court. In the document, entered as part of a plea agreement with Galvin earlier, government lawyers described how Paisley directly intervened to force the Navy to buy Mazlat equipment and how he agreed to share some $2 million in Mazlat payments to Galvin and others. On several occasions they discussed the status of Swiss bank accounts holding the payments (circa June 1990).

Additionally, there have been incursions at many major defense contractors, such as General Electric (GE) for jet engine technology and NUMEC on the nuclear front.[23] GE pleaded guilty to charges of fraud, money laundering, and corrupt business practices in connection with its sale of military engines to Israel, and eventually agreed to pay nearly $70 million in compensation. That was a small price to pay to

avoid being charged with treason, which was the implied description of the scandal.[24]

Consider the billions of dollars in economic aid that the United States transfers to Israel each year. Unlike most foreign subsidies, which are paid in quarterly installments, this one is remitted in a lump sum at the beginning of the U.S. fiscal year. That means the United States has to borrow the funds against future revenues, and therefore pays interest on the borrowings—at U.S. taxpayer expense. Even more contemptuous, Israel is likely to have so much money on hand that it buys U.S. treasury bonds and makes additional millions of dollars on interest.

Almost without exception, U.S. politicians unequivocally support Israeli political decisions and needs over those of the United States. The same is true for government officials, both elected and appointed. Senators try to show who is *more* pro-Israel. Examples abound:

- Israel gets more than $16 billion with little notice from the Senate, but ask for $16 billion for something in the domestic national interest, and the Senate Republicans go into a full-blown filibuster.
- The 1994 crime bill debate considered $30 billion over 6 years. After strenuous debate, it failed to pass.
- Liberal media voices wring their hands over the plight of the homeless in the United States, while U.S. foreign aid builds luxury housing in Israel.

A U.S. policy of granting refugee status to "Jews, Pentecostals and other religious minorities" in the Soviet Union had been widely abused, according to confidential documents, as reported by the Scripps Howard News Service.[25] While many standard immigrant applicants have waited more than fifteen years to be processed through legal channels, the Lautenburg Amendment allowed Soviet Jews to jump to the head of the line, while the U.S. taxpayer paid air fare and resettlement costs of about $7,000 per refugee. The Hebrew Immigration Aid Society and other Jewish lobby groups would not tolerate even a small percentage of denials, even though many applicants were not able to assert a fear of persecution or even a credible basis for such fear. The Jewish groups pushed to guarantee that no Jews be

denied refugee status. A 1993 an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) study found that out of 624 cases approved, only three would have qualified under international standards. Under the Lautenburg standards, "ninety-one percent were approved, 4 percent placed on hold, and only 5 percent were denied."[26]

Military Influence and Control

U.S. arms control agencies have become aware of an apparent conspiracy of silence on Israel's complicity in efforts to create and export Uzi submachine guns, cluster bombs, and other weapons of mass destruction. Israel's relationship with South Africa throughout the1980s is a case in point, with the two countries jointly developing not only nuclear-capable long-range missile technology, but also nuclear weapons.[27]

According to *Time* magazine (May 19, 1997), the U.S. ambassador to Israel "complained privately to the Israeli government about heavy-handed surveillance by Israeli intelligence agents, who had been following U.S. embassy employees in Tel Aviv and searching the hotel rooms of visiting U.S. officials."

Espionage, or spying, is an important wartime military activity. For our purposes, we can divide it into two categories: military espionage, where the targets are U.S. technological and industrial companies specializing in production of military hardware, and political espionage, where the targets are U.S. politicians, bureaucrats, and intelligence apparatus.

Between 1949 and 1991, total U.S. aid reportedly sent to Israel's 3 million people has been estimated at to more than $53 billion. By contrast, the Marshall Plan to rebuild all of the war-ravaged countries of Western Europe cost the United States $12 billion and benefited 100 million people. From 1979 to 1993, the amount totaled $40.1 billion, and all aid was converted from loans to cash grants, interest free for all loans except those before 1985. Special credit terms on the Economic Support Fund grant and military assistance grants mean that U.S. taxpayers pay an additional $86 million yearly on interest on Israeli debt, along with debt restructuring, which lowers Israel's interest

payments to the United States overall, and lower administrative fees costing the U.S. taxpayer $60 million in 1991 alone.

Israel received money for the Arrow missile, a program useless to the U.S. military; it receives excess defense articles, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of designated emergency petroleum reserves; millions of dollars to improve military facilities at the Israeli port of Haifa, plus additional millions to study further improvements. These funds are typically buried in U.S. military budgets. Israel receives preferential treatment in investment insurance, in the Overseas Workload Program to repair, maintain, and overhaul U.S. equipment overseas. Israel receives additional large sums of aid in crises, such as $400 million in housing loan guarantees and additional economic and military assistance during the Persian Gulf war, Patriot missile batteries, huge economic assistance grants, hundreds of millions to fund economic support fund to purchase military equipment, hundreds of millions for prepositioning of U.S. defense equipment in Israel that Israel itself can use in an "emergency," and an additional hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of U.S. military equipment. In addition to $10 billion in housing loan guarantees, the United States agreed to guarantee 100 percent of the loan, an unheard-of concession in any financial dealing. Congress reserved the right to override any presidential suspension of the guarantees even if Israel violates the conditions of the loan, and gave Israel an additional $3 billion in economic and military assistance.[28]

If we conclude that there are actions that point to a conspiracy, we can begin to gain an understanding of the framework that will put Israel's war against the United States into focus. We can begin to look at the elements that more clearly help make the determination that we are not dealing with mere random phenomena, or a small group of dedicated religious fanatics. We are dealing with the organized efforts of an offensive foreign military aggression.

Military Intrigues

The most dramatic impact in the international arena has been the ability of Israel to direct the military forces of the United States against Israel's enemies. This was most apparent in the wars against Iraq, a developing nation whose threat to Israel is in its large population. Large populations

can create large standing armies. Israel's greatest threat is that a large standing army will overrun the Promised Land, making largely ineffective the use of high-technology weaponry, such as planes and radar, unless high civilian casualties are considered. The U.S. media have presented grave concerns about Iraq and Iran, "Arab" countries with a large populations, and at odds with Israeli aggressions.

The most notorious example of the arrogance and contempt that Israel shows for U.S. military assistance occurred in June 1967 during the Six-Day War in the Middle East. A U.S. naval vessel, the U.S.S. Liberty, was relentlessly attacked by Israeli torpedo boats and as many as ten jet aircraft while cruising in international waters in the Mediterranean Sea off the coast of the Sinai Peninsula. In the carefully planned and orchestrated attack, the ship was pounded with more than 800 rounds of rocket, torpedo, and machine gun fire, at a cost of 34 Americans dead and 171 wounded. The media, the president, and the court of inquiry all focused a determined effort to convey only a limited, jaundiced account of the outrage.[29]

Development of nuclear weapons in Israel dates back to the founding of the nation in 1948, but came to maturity in the late 1950s. U.S. companies that formed part of the nuclear industrial complex were routine targets of Israel's military espionage, such as NUMEC in Pennsylvania, a manufacturer of nuclear fuels, controls, and shielding.[30] Unaccounted-for losses of nuclear materials from NUMEC and other sites continued throughout the 1980s.[31] It appeared that Israel was not only stealing information, but also materials used to manufacture such weapons.

South Africa created six nuclear bombs with the technical assistance of Israel, and had also been working with Israel to develop a ballistic missile. The Jericho II missile was designed to deliver nuclear, biological, or chemical warheads up to 900 miles away. Early in 1992, director of the CIA charged that China had illegally obtained ballistic missile secrets from the 'Patriot' ground-to-air missile system.[32] Israel was suspected of having supplied China with these secrets. This disclosure made public the suspicions that had circulated within the Pentagon since allegations of technology theft against Israel were

formally raised in the mid-1970s. Later attention was diverted to Chinese espionage at Los Alamos.

Three relevant documents were made public in early 1996:

(1) A General Accounting Office (GAO) report "Defense Industrial Security: Weaknesses in US Security Arrangements with Foreign-Owned Defense Contractors" found that according to intelligence sources "Country A" (identified by intelligence sources as Israel, *Washington Times*, February 22, 1996) "conducts the most aggressive espionage operation against the United States of any US ally." The *Jerusalem Post* (August 30, 1996) quoted the report: "Classified military information and sensitive military technologies are high-priority targets for the intelligence agencies of this country."

The report described "[a]n espionage operation run by the intelligence organization responsible for collecting scientific and technologic information for [Israel] paid a US government employee to obtain US classified military intelligence documents." *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (Shawn L. Twing, April 1996) noted that this was "a reference to the 1985 arrest of Jonathan Pollard, a civilian US naval intelligence analyst who provided Israel's LAKAM [Office of Special Tasks] espionage agency an estimated 800,000 pages of classified US intelligence information."

The GAO report also noted that "[s]everal citizens of [Israel] were caught in the United States stealing sensitive technology used in manufacturing artillery gun tubes."

(2) An Office of Naval Intelligence document, "Worldwide Challenges to Naval Strike Warfare," reported that "US technology has been acquired [by China] through Israel in the form of the Lavi fighter and possibly SAM [surface-to-air] missile technology."[33] *Jane's Defense Weekly* (February 28, 1996) noted that "until now, the intelligence community has not openly confirmed the transfer of US technology [via Israel] to China." The report noted that this "represents a dramatic step forward for Chinese military aviation." (*Flight International*, March 13, 1996)

(3) The Defense Investigative Service circulated a memorandum in late 1995 warning U.S. military contractors that "Israel aggressively collects [U.S.] military and industrial technology." The report stated that Israel obtains information using "ethnic targeting, financial aggrandizement, and identification and exploitation of individual frailties" of U.S. citizens (*Washington Post*, January 30, 1996). Several Jewish groups criticized this report for allegedly implying that Jewish-Americans were particularly suspect.

Increasingly close military ties between Israel and China alarmed the CIA. Israel apparently supplies China with classified defense technology from sources in the West, and has been selling military technology to China for more than a decade.[34]

Political Espionage: Americans Spying for Israel

Israeli espionage against the United States has a long history. This revelation has been treated by much of the press as something of an aberration, because Israeli officials have claimed that they do not spy on the United States. Israel Foreign Minister David Levy told the *Washington Post* (May 8, 1997) that "[o]ur diplomats all over the world, and of course specifically in the US, don't deal with such a thing." As early as 1954, the U.S. Ambassador in Tel Aviv discovered a hidden microphone in his office. In 1956 wiretaps were found on the residence telephones of the U.S. military attaché. These crude techniques used state-of-the-art spying technology for their time, and were considered almost routine political espionage. However, much more political spying has been carried out in the United States by Israeli spies and their U.S. agents. The case of Jonathon Pollard continues to have a high profile in the media, but he is merely the tip of the iceberg of Israel's U.S. spy network.

U.S. intelligence agencies are by no means helpless or unaware. As late as 1996, defense memoranda warned of Israeli spying, and of Israel's manipulation of ethnic ties to the Jewish-American community. As was expected, the strongest complaint against the "nontraditional adversary" came from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), who called upon the Pentagon to demand an internal investigation of the staff who prepared the report.[35] A portion of a

1979 CIA internal report, "Israel: Foreign Intelligence and Security Services," included the following:

> In one instance Shin Beth [the Israeli internal security agency] tried to penetrate the US Consulate General in Jerusalem through a clerical employee who was having an affair with a Jerusalem girl. They rigged a fake abortion case against the employee in an unsuccessful effort to recruit him. Before this attempt at blackmail, they had tried to get the Israeli girl to elicit information from her boyfriend.[36]

In March 1978, Stephen Bryen, then a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff member, was overheard in a D.C. hotel offering confidential documents to top Israeli military officials. The FBI found Bryen's fingerprints on the documents in question, and he admitted to having obtained them the night before the meeting with the Israelis. Bryen was forced to quit his job, but was never indicted. He was later hired by the Department of Defense as a deputy to Reagan Administration Assistant Secretary Richard Pearle. There Bryen was in charge of such matters as overseeing technology transfers in the Middle East.[37] As late as 1992, Bryen was serving on the board of the pro-Israeli Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs while continuing as a paid consultant—with security clearance—on exports of sensitive U.S. technology.[38]

Until the Pollard spy case inexplicably flared to media prominence, the general media and public perception was that Israel had never spied on the United States before, for any reason. That, however, was not true at all. Throughout the 1980s, the Israeli intelligence service was the second most active in the United States, after the Soviets. In the post-Soviet world, it is the most active. After Pollard was arrested, Israel denied all knowledge of him. Prime Minister Netanyahu's office declared: "Israel does not use intelligence agents in the United States. Period." Well, they don't need to, as the Pollard and other *sayanim* (that is, American Jews) cases show.

> At the top, of course, they knew what was going on. One former Israeli intelligence official recalled that

> Peres and Rabin, both very sophisticated in the handling of intelligence, were quick to ask, as the official put it, "Where are we getting this stuff?" They were told, the Israeli added, that Israeli intelligence "has a penetration into the U.S. intelligence community." Both men let it go. No one said: "Stop it here and now."[39]

One of the little-known aspects of the Pollard case is that the Israelis passed along information to the Soviets. The Pollard information helped Israel's ability to threaten the Soviet Union and blackmail the United States with nuclear war if they didn't get their way with political developments in the Middle East. Relaying of the Pollard information to the Soviets was a way of demonstrating that Israel could be a much more dependable and important collaborator in the Middle East than the Arabs.[40]

A 1987 *Wall Street Journal* headline reported that the "Role of Israel in Iran-Contra Scandal Won't Be Explored in Detail by Panels" despite clear involvement and anti-American activity on the part of the Israelis. In 1992, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Israeli agents tried to steal Recon Optical Inc.'s top-secret airborne spy-camera system.[41] In early 1997, Army mechanical engineer David Tenenbaum gave classified military missile system and armored vehicle information to Israeli spies.[42]

Military Espionage and Nuclear Events

Israel's military espionage network in the United States is organized to collect information on everything from Arab-Americans to Uzis on the streets to nuclear weapons and missile technology.

> John Glenn asked CIA Director James Woolsey to confirm a declassified Soviet intelligence report claiming that Israel possesses 100 to 200 nuclear weapons. Woolsey declined comment.
>
> *Near East Report*, March 8, 1993

Possession of nuclear weapons conveys a message of power and prestige among nations, and it is often used as a source of coercion

against weak neighbors. The United States is a major power in part because of nuclear weapons, but also because of its democratic government and institutions, its economic strength, and the productivity and morality of its citizens. So while there is a morality issue inherent in basing U.S. security and defense on nuclear weapons, as more of a multidimensional power we are not solely reliant on nuclear weapons for our security. Countries like Israel, Iran, and others have a very different nuclear agenda. Nuclear weapons create a two-tiered international system: the haves and the have-nots of nuclear weapons. For the nuclear have-not nations, biological and chemical weapons offer a fighting chance at prestige and security.

> Israel, a signatory to the Chemical Weapons Convention which established the OPCW, is being "disruptive in a number of the most important experts' groups," particularly the group charged with defying the right of inspectors to demand access to areas, equipment and files of their own choosing.... They are worried what inspectors might find at Dimona and other defense industry sites.[43]

U.S. officials are convinced of Israel's ability to obtain, on a routine basis, highly guarded information about U.S. nuclear weapons, advanced technology, and internal policy deliberations. The FBI has documented at least a dozen incidents in which U.S. officials covertly and illegally transferred classified information to the Israelis.

Israel's interest in nuclear weapons dates back to the birth of the country. In 1965, Israel obtained enriched uranium from NUMEC (Babcock 1986). In 1985 Richard Smyth, the owner of MILCO, was indicted on charges of smuggling nuclear timing devices to Israel (*Washington Post*, October 31, 1986).

In March 1983 the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General R. H. Barrow, charged that Israeli troops were deliberately threatening the lives of marines serving as peacekeepers in Lebanon. There was, he wrote, "a systematic pattern of harassment by Israel Defense Forces (IDF) that was resulting in 'life-threatening situations, replete with verbal degradation of the officers, their uniform and country.'"[44]

Conclusion

Americans never think it possible for a foreign power to actively subvert the U.S. political process, and for fallout to reverberate throughout the social system even when it is happening. Israel's enormous influence in Washington is not limited to the federal bureaucracy. In the Washington media, a significant number of the most important personages, presenters of the most popular programs, senior media correspondents, and newspaper editors and analysts are Israel's handpicked and custom-tailored American Jews. Many of them are influenced in Israel's favor by attending "suitable" synagogues, such as the Cleveland Park synagogue in Washington, D.C., where the Israeli flag is displayed ominously above the Sacred Ark.

Israel's war against the United States affects the U.S. government on two levels. First, politicians are persuaded to support Israel through their continuing need for campaign money, and for good media coverage and imagery devoid of scandals, whether trumped-up or real, deserved or not. This affects politicians at the local, state, and national levels, as well as international politicians, such as ambassadors and U.N. personnel and advisors.

Second, the military command structure is bypassed with the placement of Israel sympathizers throughout the military establishment and in the Pentagon, especially in military intelligence units. This allows Israel unlimited access to U.S. military data. Israel's ability to procure U.S. military hardware is unparalleled. And Israel's ability to garner U.S. support for Israeli military objectives is unquestioned by politicians and the media.

Urged on by congressmen and senators sympathetic to Israeli goals, Congress has supported an increasing erosion of civil liberties in the name of combating terrorism. The Administration is reportedly considering a Pentagon proposal for the creation of a domestic military commandant responsible for fighting domestic crimes of terrorism. Such a move would constitute a dangerous introduction of the military into civilian law enforcement. It calls to mind nightmare scenarios in films, such as *The Siege*, and invokes the specter of martial law. Federal banking agencies have proposed "Know Your Customer" rules, in

which banks would be required to verify their customers' identities, determine the origin of their money, and track their transactions. Banks are required to report any "suspicious" transactions to law enforcement authorities, turning bank employees into de facto law enforcement investigators. Roving wiretaps, in which the government may tap any telephone a suspect might use, were legalized by the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1998. The law also permits the use of wiretaps without a court order for up to 48 hours in the case of an "emergency," which is not defined. It lowers the standards the government must meet under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, wherein secret courts allow agents to tap calls on any lines used or called by suspects and allow the Justice Department to obtain their business, travel, and hotel records. Perhaps most egregious of all are new practices by the Justice Department and the INS in which secret evidence, withheld from defendants, their attorneys, and the public, is used against defendants who are thus rendered unable to defend themselves.

Spending limits, contribution limits, PAC elimination, soft money restrictions, and out of state district limits would certainly put a damper on the money transfers across national and state lines to influence state and local elections, respectively. But most of the money goes for image presentation in the form of television spot sound bites.

We face a secondary problem: if it is so expensive for politicians to campaign because of media expenses (that is, television advertising) are so great, then it is time for the media to recognize the full weight of their responsibility to the viewing public by carrying, free of charge, the real meat of the political elections, candidate platforms, and debates.

Sitting now at the turn of the century and the millenium, a full fifty years into Israel's war against the United States began in earnest, few politicians dare to articulate the impacts of Israel's military and political damage to the American political system. Occasional political rogues will openly refer to Israel's dark, manipulative power over Congress as "the amen corner," only to be thoroughly denounced as anti-Semite and racists. Military adventurism and international political intrigue in support of Israel have become the primary concern of the installed cadre of Israeli supporters in Congress. Media supports those who support Israel, and condemns those who do not. This foreign control

of American resources is unprecedented in our history, and the consequences on our ability to conduct our unique foreign policy will haunt the integrity of our democratic institutions for a long time to come.

[1] Reprinted in the May 27, 1996, issue of *The New York Times*. Translated from the Hebrew in "Liberation" of May 21, 1996.

[2] *The Spotlight* 1991, p. 12. At the time, *Spotlight* identified the National PAC, Washington PAC, Hudson Valley PAC, and Desert Caucus PAC as pro-Israel agents.

[3] Curtiss 1993, p. 40.

[4] William J. Bennett 1995, p. 31.

[5] Twair and Twair 1993, p. 40.

[6] *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 1994, p. 30.

[7] See books by former Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) (1989) and Middle Eastern authority Richard Curtiss (1986, 1990, 1993) for more detailed information on the subject of PACs.

[8] Engelmayer (1997), News Editor for *MetroWest Jewish News*.

[9] Curtiss 1993, p. 40.

[10] Inquiries were made on the Internet to http://www.aipac.org.

[11] See, for example, Haynes Johnson 1989.

[12] *New York Times*, January 21, 1990, section 4, p. 2.

[13] See *Wall Street Journal* 1995, p. A.

[14] *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 1989, p. A4.

[15] See, for example, Ottoway 1989.

[16] See, for example, Mintz 1996, p. A4.

[17] McGee 1997.

[18] Chomsky 1992, p. 136.

[19] Summarized from McGee 1997.

[20] See, for example, Smith and Pincus 1995, p. A6.

[21] Smith and Pincus 1995.

[22] Chomsky 1992, pp. 23–30.

[23] Said 1982, p. 143.

[24] *Wall Street Journal* 1991, p. A1: GE threatened to sue a whistle-blowing employee to recover any monetary award he receives for breaching the Israel spy network involved in the company's sale of military jet engines to Israel. Over $30 M was involved in the fraud.

[25] See *Washington Post* 1992, p. A1.

[26] Hedges 1995, p. A1.

[27] Hedges 1995, p. A1.

[28] *Seattle Times* 1989, p. A3.

[29] See Findley, 1993, chapter 14.

[30] Ennes 1979.

[31] For an in-depth analysis of this incident and others, see Green 1988. See especially chapter 7, "Making an Israeli Bomb, 1948–1967." See also. Hersch 1993.

[32] Burns 1989, p. A7.

[33] Kennedy 1993, p. 6.

[34] See Neff 1995b. See also Kennedy 1993, p. 6: A GAO study found the Defense Department failed to monitor use of U.S. technology in Israel's Arrow missile weapons program and warned that the United States may "be drawn into funding most of" the Arrow's estimated cost of up to $10B. *USA Today* (1992) reported that the Bush administration brushed aside Israeli denials, and investigated intelligence reports that Israel transferred secret Patriot anti-missiles technology to China. As pledge in return for Patriot coverage during the Iraq war, Israel agreed not to share the missile technology with any third country. See also *Washington Times* 1992 and *Wall Street Journal* 1992.

[35] Kennedy 1993, p. 6.

[36] Smith 1996, p. 1.

[37] From Cockburn 1985.

[38] See Michael Saba 1984, who was an officer of the National Association of Arab Americans, when he overheard Bryen offer the documents to the Israelis.

[39] Pound and Rogers 1992.

[40] Hersch 1993, p. 296.

[41] Hersch 1993, p. 299.

[42] Pound and Rogers 1992.

[43] *New York Times* 1997. For detailed analysis of the Israel–United States rela-

tionship, including covert operations, see Green 1988. Also see Cockburn and Cockburn 1991. Also see Clarke 1995.

[44] Clarke 1995, p. 24, quoting from "Sources at the Preparatory Commission of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in The Hague."

7. Religious Wars and Ancient Hatreds

It is against the law for the federal government to build churches, but Congress sent $5 million to French Jews to build a synagogue.

In the movie Jack Van Impe Presents Armageddon, *the noted evangelist declares that the government of the state of Israel is divine.*

Evangelist Mike Evans' television special focuses on God's divine relationship with the state of Israel.

The strongest personal associations that most people make in their lives are to their family and their morals as expressed in religious beliefs. The significance of religion and religious belief systems cannot be overstated because people do not act in deliberate opposition to their beliefs.

Religions are defined sets of beliefs adhered to by communities that reinforce specific moral imperatives. The unique and distinguishing characteristics of religions are their beliefs, symbols, rituals, activities and moral code of conduct. Beliefs are the moral guidelines to which adherents of the religion profess to believe. Symbols are items such as incense, altars, robes, gowns, crosses, crescents, stars, and so forth. Rituals are the outward manifestations of the religion: the ceremonies such as masses, marriages, and burials. Activities are the defining ceremonies of the religion: holy days at which specific ceremonies are held and specific symbols displayed. The purpose of religious symbols, rituals and activities is to reinforce the moral meaning and value attached to the religious belief system. To regularly participate in religious activities is to admit to the meaning of the particular religious beliefs.

For centuries, civilization was driven by the fervor of religious leaders who spawned wars by fanning ethnic and religious hatreds into flame. The religiously inspired history of the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, when Christian Germany, Catholic Spain, and Protestant France used state religion to persecute any who did not abide by officially sanctioned beliefs, is well known. Similarly, belief in the word and law of the prophet Mohammed, in its brief awakening, swept from the Arabian Peninsula and through much of the known world in the fifth century.

Life in the United States is built in large measure on the freedoms that are the hallmarks of modern Western democracy. One of the first emphases in the national founding documents was the notion that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." From the vantage point of this freedom, Americans look with disdain at the effects of the established state religions in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Demographically the United States is a Christian nation, with Catholicism representing the largest Christian sect. Following Catholics, ranked by size, are the Christian variants of Methodists, Lutherans, and Baptists. U.S. Catholics are composed largely of members of the communities of Irish, Italian, and Polish descent. Methodism and Lutheranism, composed largely of German-Americans, have taken the appearance of liberated religions. Yet with German-Americans still suffering in the shadow of Hitler, Lutheranism and Methodism remain supine in political matters that affect the Middle East. The remnant British Episcopalian sect is relatively insignificant in Middle Eastern politics.

Propagandists pay specific attention to religious beliefs, especially when attempting to instigate actions that are in opposition to religious morality. They have found that it is nearly impossible to influence deep-seated individual religious beliefs directly—in other words, it is not worthwhile to attempt to directly influence a personal belief structure that is supported by an organized religion. The preferred approach is to debase the belief structure by ridiculing and demeaning the religion itself. The concept employed by propagandists is to undermine the religion in order to reduce the value of the related moral belief structure. So where the propagandists will not openly say "it is OK to commit adultery," they will say "the major figures of your religion commit

adultery." The action constitutes a direct attack against the religion and an indirect attack against the belief.

Religions are the targets for political propaganda, throughout the world, particularly in the Middle East, Israel, and the United States. Generally this is because widespread adherence to religions enables them to be powerful social regulators. Political propaganda attempts to break people's links with their religions, because moral opposition is then removed from imperial military action. Propaganda attempts to break people's links to their religion by denigrating the religion in every possible way. Mass-mediated propaganda has gone to great lengths to ridicule religious ritual, expose God as a bigot and a fool, and supplant violence and sexual deviancy as acts and thoughts worthy of aspiration. This is an overt motive, not just the entertainment industry trying to make a buck by appealing to the more prurient, baser human instincts.

Jacques Ellul noted that

> ...the more intense the life of a group to which an individual belongs, the more active and effective propaganda is. A group in which feelings of belonging are weak, in which common objectives are imprecise or the structure is in the process of changing, in which conflicts are rare, and which is not tied to a collective focus of interest, cannot make valid propaganda either to its members or to those outside.[1]

Alcoholics Anonymous and Drugs Anonymous both recognize the meaning and value of spirit in the holistic reality of health and healing. They share the symbolism of the equilateral triangle in a circle. The sides of the triangle represent mental, physical, and spiritual elements of being; the circle is the totality of the being. Religions typify and universally validate the need for awareness of spiritual well-being. Not surprisingly, effort is expended to crush the spirit of the opposition, because spirit, though intangible, is the most easily reached through religious teaching. Just as a horse's spirit is modified in the taming process, so humans can be tamed, made compliant, silent. The main

technique for crushing the human spirit is to destroy ties to morality expressed in organized religions.

Manipulating Christian Symbols

Israel has relied for much of its support in the United States upon influencing or intimidating U.S. Christians, who are given the message that they have not only a political but also a religious stake in supporting the state of Israel. One such religious claim made upon U.S. and also European Christians is that of compensation justified by Christian guilt for anti-Semitism and the Nazi "destruction" of European Jewry.

Since the late 1940s, Zionism has sought to establish a link between a collective worldwide guilt for the Holocaust and support for Israel. This is relentlessly reinforced in the media by making symbolic transfers between Nazis, Arabs, and other ethnic and religious groups. The Allied struggle against Hitler is portrayed as a continuing struggle in the Israeli fight against Arabs. By presenting the state of Israel as being constantly on the brink of annihilation, an emotional link with the Holocaust is maintained. In the United States, criticism of Israel is treated as a threat to national security and is referred to as making possible "another Holocaust." It is also now considered a type of civil offense classified as a "hate crime."

The flip side of this effort to link Christian reparations for anti-Semitism with support for Israel is to claim that any criticism of Israel is anti-Semitism. "There exists a concerted effort to intimidate the Christian sects with charges of anti-Semitism."[2] An important point to notice is that the techniques being used in the perceptions created about religion are the same as those used in perceptions created about Arabs.

One way to destroy the link between people and religion is to vilify or denigrate the symbols of their religion. The denigration of the nun's habit, the priest's collar, the altar, the sign of the cross, the meaning of prayer all attempt to destroy the significance of the religion. Television delivers the surrogate morality, in order to directly influence people's perceptions of religious clergy in the Catholic Church. Judaism can't do that; Israel can't do that. They can't do it directly by becoming part of the church organization, so they do it by proxy; by making their own set of associations through television. After all, most

individuals spend more time in front of their televisions than they do in church or in religious group activities.

Christianity has many sects, Catholicism being the predominant one. Through the media, it is easier to create a new sect than it is to influence the main established sects directly. Israel uses the media to influence Catholicism and to portray negative values to weaken the resolve of Christians generally, and the potential of a unified Christian political power in particular. It was easier to create a Jerry Falwell and a "moral majority" than to find priests who would willingly support Israel's militarized Judaism. This single fact accounts for the calculated and statistically predictable rise of televangelism's popularity.

Televangelism and the Dispensationalist Movement

Over the past 30 years, there has been a major upsurge in the so-called televangelist Christian movements. Televangelists, or U.S. television ministers, are primarily preachers whose basic method of evangelism is to espouse their peculiar twist on beliefs via television programming. Prior to the widespread rise of televangelism, the most notable religious broadcasting directly available to the mass viewing audience was the immensely popular, Catholic-oriented *Bishop Sheen Show* of the mid- to late 1950s.[3] Televangelists, according to a 1985 Nielsen survey, reach an estimated 60 million listeners. They attempt to convince listeners not to work for peace, but rather to accept Israel's war against Arabs as the will of God.

Televangelists are essentially espousing anti-Semitic racism through an interpretation of the Bible that claims that the Jews will be gathered together in Israel and destroyed by Jesus. Therefore, the preachers say, send money to support this cause, and support Israel. Jesus becomes the ultimate Hitler by destroying Judaism. There are associations between the religious denigration and the ethnic denigration, as between Christian and Arab.

Just as evangelists bring fire and brimstone into the corners of spiritual belief, the mainstream media carry the televangelist symbology into the mass-mediated consciousness. The allegory of the sign of the beast is an interpretation of future events culled from scripture and popularized by televangelists. The sign of the beast can be said to be manifest not,

as the televangelists say, in some cryptic symbol that everyone will somehow know, as a "666" or other written sign, but rather as the handgun.

A few brave analytical authors have noted that the major similarity among the televangelists is their universal acceptance of one interpretation of the Bible.[4] Most present the political state Israel as a manifestation of the will of God, and a corresponding interpretation of prophecy that supports the warlike actions of the modern state of Israel. Like much of the Israel cult phenomenon that has sprung up since the late 1960s, the televangelistic cult of Israel has no mainstream schism.

In the 1970s, radio evangelist Hal Lindsey became known as "the father of modern-day Bible prophecy." His inspiration focused on the coming battle of Armageddon, the end of the world, the conversion of the Jews, and return of Christ. Televangelistic dispensationalists derive the basic substance of their message and interpretation of the Bible from Lindsay's book, *The Late, Great Planet Earth*. In it, Lindsey interprets the book of Revelation's description of how earth must pass through seven periods of tribulation. The prescribed periods are called dispensations, and the belief system itself is known as dispensationalism; believers in this system are called dispensationalists. Almost without exception, televangelists are dispensationalists, fundamentalists who read the Bible as an almanac to predict the future.[5]

Lindsey's dispensationalists claim that the Old Testament prophet Daniel predicted the events of present-day technology and war. Lindsey claims to have cracked God's secret message in the Bible, the "Apocalypse Code," and deciphers long-hidden messages about man's future and the fate of the Earth. Interestingly, he writes a whole chapter on "The Media Catastrophe Craze," which he has led.[6]

In reality, the media fostered the propagation of Hal Lindsey for a very political reason. The belief system of those who preach Armageddon theology confuses the biblically symbolic land of Israel and the modern Zionist state of Israel, which they interpret, prophetically, as one and the same. Additionally, most Bible schools across the United States—denominational and nondenominational—

teach dispensationalism and Armageddon theology. Hundreds of Bible schools across the nation are turning out tens of thousands of students steeped in dispensationalism and a cult of Israel.[7]

Following Lindsey's lead, U.S. televangelists began persuading millions of Christian listeners that they should accept Israel's expansionary war against the Arabs as the will of God. The ministers quoted and interpreted scripture, often from Ezekiel, Daniel, or Revelation, to "prove" that we are in "the last days." Of the 4,000 evangelical-fundamentalists that annually attend the National Religious Broadcasters convention, an estimated 3,000 are dispensationalists who believe that a nuclear holocaust will bring Christ back to earth. U.S. viewers regularly listen to preachers who say we can do nothing to prevent a nuclear war in our lifetime.[8]

Televangelist Pat Robertson reaches more than 16 million television households. He owns the Christian Broadcasting Network Corporation, which includes the *700 Club*, three television stations, a radio station, a cable channel, a television station in southern Lebanon, international broadcasts in more than 60 countries, a university, a worldwide charity system and a lobbying group.[9] In his widely distributed book, *The New World Order*, written during the Gulf War, he lays out speculations on biblical prophecy, world history, and a conspiracy by "European bankers" to control the U.S. economy.[10] He nonetheless contributes to the fundamentalist share of support for Israel's U.S. propaganda agenda.[11]

Jim Bakker began his religious career as a student of Pat Robertson. His PTL inspirational network was carried on 825 cable systems and was the nation's nineteenth largest cable network with 6.8 percent of viewers). Other highly public dispensational televangelists include Jimmy Swaggert and Oral Roberts.[12] Kenneth Copeland is a graduate of Oral Roberts University, and also one of the dispensationalists who sees modern Israel as the same biblical Zion.[13] Richard De Haan promoted dispensationalism perhaps more than any other widely televised U.S. minister.

By far the most interesting and sinister of the Christian televangelists was Jerry Falwell. At the height of his popularity, almost 6 million

households per week watched Falwell's *Old Time Gospel Hour*. He traveled tens of thousands of miles per week recruiting voters for Israel-friendly political candidates in a Windstream personal jet aircraft given to him by Israel. Falwell entered into politics and became an avid supporter of Israel the 1967 Middle East conflict. As he later claimed of his fervent conversion to Israeli support, there simply was no way the Israelis could have won that conflict "had it not been for the intervention of God Almighty." In addition to his private jet, Israel has provided him with a U.S. media empire and frequent paid trips to Israel. "In 1979, the Israelis extended a free trip during a period when Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin was in a rush to build illegal Jewish colonies throughout the West Bank. Falwell showed his appreciation by proclaiming that God gave the West Bank to the Jews, and that God was kind to the United States only because "America has been kind to the Jew." He added that U.S. Christians must involve themselves politically in such a way "as to guarantee that United States continues to be a friend to the Jew" that is, the Israelis. Falwell added, "I believe if we fail to protect Israel, we will cease to be important to God."[14]

Falwell became the first major U.S. political figure to argue that the United States must support Israel not simply for Israel's own sake, but for the sake of self-preservation of the United States itself. During the 1980 elections, his Moral Majority got national press attention, and Falwell emerged as a prime time media personality, with reporters giving wide coverage to his views on Israel. "Falwell found many opportunities to tell Americans the fate of the nation stood or fell according to the attitude they took toward Israel. If Americans did not show an unflinching willingness to provide Israel with arms and dollars, Falwell said, America would lose all."[15] The voice and image of the televangelist Christian Coalition puts forth a strategy of political meanness and religious bigotry. Efforts to link evangelicals and Catholics have been on their agenda for years.

In the long run, ethical and financial problems have not been kind to the image of televangelists. Almost two dozen ministries are or have been under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service for violating religious tax exemption status. Jim Bakker's PTL ministry sought

bankruptcy protection, claiming more than $70 million in debt. Jimmy Swaggert, plagued by scandal involving prostitutes, lost more than two-thirds of his viewing audience and three-quarters of the enrollment at his Bible college. Pat Robertson used his televangelist platform to launch an unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential nomination, and subsequently returned to his *700 Club* television program. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, declared "mission accomplished" and returned to his shrinking television audience and revenues.

Entertainment Networks Attack the Catholic Church

For thirty years, television has been taxing U.S. morals—wearing down viewers in a relentless assault, deliberately creating a mass hypnosis and hysteria centered on sex, brutality, fear, violence, hatred, and a general attack against the spiritual bulwark of religious morality. In the 1990s, the scandals of Martin Greenlaw, a prominent San Francisco pastor, and Msgr. Patrick O'Shea scandalized church and nation alike by bringing to light an apparent ring of homosexual San Francisco priests. Local newspapers and radio stations sent the church reeling with scandalous charges. "The three plus decades since John Kennedy's death have not been kind to institutions of all varieties. But few have suffered so wrenching a reversal as the U.S. Catholic Church, not only in its public image, but even more corrosively, in its own self perception."[16] While the media are well within journalistic prudence to bring this kind of scandal to the attention of mainstream media consumers, the overall picture of its actions requires investigation.

The Media Research Center did a study of prime time shows broadcast on the major networks in the 1993 broadcast season and concluded, in wording typical of hope for the better, that programming is becoming "more balanced" than previously noted with respect to religious depictions.[17] This weak applause for television came despite a relentless fifteen years of outright religion bashing, and specifically, bashing of Christianity, in television.

The church had been suffering from another, more insidious media assault for more than a decade. The sterling image of Catholicism in the movies and television prevalent in the 1940s and 1950s suddenly

gave way in the 1970s to priests obsessed with Satan, opulence, sex, arrogance, and bigotry. In an unprecedented media assault primarily directed at the Catholic Church, the imagery of priests, priesthood, Catholic morals, faith, and symbolism were subjected to mass-mediated ridicule and blasphemy under the guise of entertainment. The attack has been widespread, prolonged, and unparalleled in history.

A magazine for the Catholic League decries what it calls the news media's treatment of the Catholic Church as a pariah and Catholics as fools or fakes. Magazines like *Playboy* create crass associations between Catholic girls and "the stripper next door," with images of girls in semiundressed states of Catholic school uniforms. Radio and television parodies of Catholic sacraments, religious traditions, and holidays are commonplace. Radio personalities, mostly Jewish on Jewish-owned radio stations, host a program of ridicule in which they urge listeners to call in and confess their sins, while the program hosts bestow on themselves the title of reverend, make blasphemous remarks about Jesus and Catholicism, and add ridicule to blasphemy in the name of free speech.[18]

In a letter to potential supporters, the Catholic League describes anti-Catholic bias in media coverage. "The media have decided to portray the Catholic Church as rife with dissent over issues such as abortion, birth control, celibacy and male priesthood," and suggests that "many of those chosen for interviews to represent the opinions of *all* Catholics are actually spokesmen for radical splinter groups who have a self interest in promoting the idea that practicing Catholics no longer believe in or live by Church doctrine."[19] The letter indicates that Catholic bashing is on the rise.

In addition to propagating the equivalent of hate logic against the Catholic religion and adherents, the media also regularly refer to any defense of Catholicism as "being representative of the religious right or the conservative wing of Catholicism."[20] The regularity with which defenses of Catholicism are attacked is in stark contrast to the level of controversy attached to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) or other Jewish organizations for defending Judaism. In fact, Catholics are accosted for being involved in issues beyond the narrowly focused

tradition of "helping the poor," as if they step beyond the bounds of their religious obligation by defending their faith. The intellectual dishonesty and journalistically unprofessional trend to label Catholics as the fountainhead of bigotry extends into politics as well.

The main issue to which Catholics are relegated is abortion, and every Catholic is supposed to be violently aroused by this issue, yet strangely mute in the face of any other form of termination of life, be it executions in the penal system or war against enemies of Israel. Deviating from this media platform for Catholics brings on the adverse labels and calls for Christians to return to tending the needy. William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, describes how "the national news media delight in portraying the Catholic Church as an intolerant and anachronistic institution, out of touch with the times."[21]

Art and artists have made regular and ritualistic defamation of Christianity, Catholicism in particular. Chicago's Woman Made Gallery offers a blasphemous display every year following Christmas, and has featured themes such as the rape of Mary, bare breasted nuns beating schoolchildren, and regular, vigorous association of feces, urine, demented sex, and other gross acts with Christian rites and rituals.

Christian churches are primarily intended to be social organizations governed by a specific set of behaviors that all in the group share. Over the past thirty years their image has changed to display bureaucratic manifestations of an invisible and distant God, and hollow rituals that receive widespread ridicule on television and in the media generally. In the past, the special Christian holidays created a time of communal celebration within the churches and within Christian families. Christmas, Easter, the Immaculate Conception, Lent, Pentecost, and other feasts and events in the church were communal activities and laden with family meaning and value.

Today the churches are largely unable to interest adherents in church events of any kind, spiritual or social. In the 1940s and 1950s, before the onslaught of television mass blasphemy as art and the concurrent movement of family life to the suburbs away from the traditional church centers, churches were the focal points of community life. Social activity

included teen groups, sewing clubs, Sunday schools, altar boy activities and choirs, picnics, bazaars, carnivals, fundraising activities, and many other events in which the church community participated.

While some authors have looked specifically at Catholic attitude and disposition in television program dramas, such as *The Thorn Birds* and *Models*, others have seen the scandalous news events of the 1990s as supported by the entertainment media. *TV Etc*'s review of prime time television found that religious characters were regularly portrayed as "evil or ignorant." Documented throughout the 1993–94 television season, Catholic clergy are frequently depicted as "repressed hypocrites or sexual deviants."[22] Themes for mini-series, ongoing serial comedies, and dramas all offered their share of Catholic ridicule.

In one episode of NBC's *Golden Girls*, the main character discovers she was illegitimately conceived during a monk's sexual affair with the monastery cook. In another, a priest breaks confessional vows and teases a confessant about her sexual habits. CBS's *Children of the Bride* is the story of a nun who decides to leave the convent after she reveals she is pregnant.

A January 1991 episode of NBC's *Law and Order* offered viewers a Catholic school teacher secretly seeking an abortion. In March 1992 a nun is accused of sexually abusing teenage girls. HBO's *Judgement* offers a pedophilic priest as main character and religious duplicity and homosexuality as themes, depicting the church more concerned about protecting the priest and its reputation than about the victims of the offense. One of the characters on the ever-present and ethnically demeaning *Married with Children* mentions children having been felt up by a Catholic school principal and nurse.

For Christianity, and Catholicism in particular, parodies and ridicule abound in mainstream, prime time television. *The John Larroquette Show* featured a prostitute who alluded to an important customer who "some day could be pope." *Picket Fences*, a strongly pro-Jewish and anti-Catholic show, focused in one episode on a serial mercy killer nun, and petty, foolish priests.[23] The African-American comedy *Martin* (1993) portrays a preacher as an extortionist who raids church offerings, propositions female churchgoers, and swindles the elderly

out of their savings. *Thirtysomething* offers moralistic castigation of the church because of its stand on birth control.[24] In an episode of *Taxi*, the priest sneezes sloppily, twice, onto the altar, and a commentator translates thus: "the priest has given his blessing."[25] On *Sleepwalkers*, the main character, a good mother, conspicuously wearing her crucifix necklace throughout the movie, admits to killing her baby, completing a plot that revolved around a child's horrific dreams.[26]

The cinema has also taken up the charge against Christianity with movies such as *The Boys of St. Vincent's.* Whoopie Goldberg in *Sister Act* portrays a lounge singer who poses as a nun and hides out in a convent. In the movie *We're No Angels*, a convict poses as a priest. "*Priests* portrays five fictional priests, two of whom are sexually active—one gay and one heterosexual. The other three are a drunk, a madman, and a heartless tyrannical.[27]

Christian videotapes are not free from ridicule either. In her book *Between Jesus and the Market*, Linda Kintz describes a night when she and her "cultural elite" friends watched Christian videotapes of televangelists to ridicule the mannerisms, arguments, looks, and accents of the speakers.[28] She labels the tapes as representative of the Christian right to distinguish her Jewish and self-declared politically and sexually liberal feminist elitism from the mainstream traditional Christian moral and ethical values that are prevalent in American society. She is tempted to condescend, she admits, when comparing her trendy feminism to the values of Christianity, and she portrays her anti-persona in Christian Women of America leader Beverly LaHaye. LaHaye calls for "kitchen table activism," a long overdue overture to political involvement by women who respect and enjoy traditional family roles. Kintz, discarding as worthless the ideals that don't provide for pierced body parts and lesbianism, attempts to disconnect the foundational value of family life in her effort to legitimize her own points of view.

Kintz's observations about Christian concerns over threats to children, especially her argument describing the feelings one has for one's own family and women's self-doubts about their mothering skills, clearly derive almost word for word from propaganda and social psychology studies found in high-powered advertising and political persuasion.

Clearly establishing herself as a Jewish critic of Christianity, her discussion of popular culture shows more respect for the bruising immaturity of Rush Limbaugh and David Letterman, icons to her of pop culture, in their television shows than for manifestations of religious movements. The clear association is that Christianity is a form of Nazism and oppression, while her liberal Jewish feminism has given her a new freedom. Her conclusion is duplicitous: that a powerful, wealthy movement is manipulating Christian political beliefs. She is that movement, and in her writing she clearly enunciates many of the archetypal characteristics described earlier in this book (see chapter 3, "Propaganda and Psychological Warfare").

The list of televised attacks on Christianity goes on, shortened only by the dearth of research focused into this topic. For now, Christians are at least aware of it, as it appears uniformly across channels in the radio, cinema, and television entertainment networks.

Attacks on Catholic Clergy

Where Israel has made strong advances into the propaganda of anti-Christianity through the ridicule of Christian ritual in the U.S. media, it has also taken attacks to a more personal level.

Radio comedian Charles McCord's monologues on Cardinal O'Connor reading out lottery spoof his religious duties and symbols of Christianity and Catholicism. In the *Washington Post*, the name of former Roman Catholic priest James Porter became synonymous with "the [Catholic] church's sex abuse scandal."[29] But it was Joseph Cardinal Bernardin who really bore the brunt of the attack against Catholic clergy.

Bernardin was accused in a lawsuit of molesting Steven J. Cook sometime between 1975 and 1977, when Bernardin was archbishop of Cincinnati. Cook, then 17, was a preseminary student. Cook's lawsuit, filed in U.S. District Court in Cincinnati, sought $10 million and Bernardin's removal. In the end, before Bernardin died of prostate cancer, Cook recanted his story of homosexual assault by admitting that his psychological regression therapy may have urged him to form twisted interpretations of events in his life.

Bernardin went on record at about the same time to state that the church needed to engage in public repentance for its anti-Semitism. He labeled parts of the New Testament problematic, called on Christianity to confront its anti-Semitic past, and to consider reinterpreting parts of the Bible.[30] On another occasion, this time in an hour-long speech at Hebrew University, Bernardin said that the Gospel according to John is "generally considered among the most problematic of all the New Testament books in its outlook toward Jews and Judaism." He cited John 8:44, in which John "placed on the lips of Jesus" the belief that Jews are the children of the devil. "Christians today must come to see that such teachings, which are an acknowledged part of their biblical heritage, can no longer be regarded as definitive teachings." Bernardin concluded that "the church needs to engage in public repentance."[31]

More on Catholic clergy sexual antics surrounded Father Jim Healy. Father Healy taught that priests were complicated and flawed, not paragons of moral purity. A full front-page story appeared about this Catholic priest, who was gay and died of AIDS. Although the article referred to him as a "charismatic preacher, a passionate activist for the poor and outcast, a liberal renegade within the Catholic Church," the headline ultimately summarized Christian priests as those who take vows and break them, those who preach virtue, but who have none. The article goes on to urge Catholics to question church teachings on sexuality, and to reconcile the demands of religious life with the mass-mediated interpretation of the freedoms of U.S. culture.[32]

On Christmas 1997, as a follow-up to the Bernardin media episode, Pope John Paul II celebrated Christianity's "elder brothers" in Judaism during his Christmas message to the world. He lit a Hanukkah candle at the Vatican, and continued in his efforts to repair the ancient rifts between Roman Catholics and Jews. He normalized relations with Israel in 1993 and has issued a major statement on anti-Semitism, in which he cites anti-Semitic text in the New Testament. ← ? God's antisemitic ?

Judaism

Judaism, although considered to be the first major monotheistic religion of widespread belief, has played only a minor role in the explorations and

conquests of the past two millennia. Today Judaism is the established religion of the state of Israel, and it is quickly becoming transformed into a state ideology. Despite its claim to enlightened and democratic statehood, the militancy of Israel is driven by its claim to an exclusive state religion. The sins of other religious states show clearly here. Conditions for non-Jews in Israel can easily be compared with the worst ones experienced by any people on religious grounds since the Spanish Inquisition. Christianity and Islam both suffer in Israel.

In contrast to media portrayals of Christianity, Jewish religious practice is treated with great reverence by the media in the United States.[33] Theatrical detail is attached to all representations of Jewish faith, from marriages to orthodox dress. There are almost no media depictions of religious activities inside Jewish temples or synagogues, and there is neither blasphemy of Jewish ritual nor ridicule of adherents of the community. The most significant Jewish religious figure in the media is usually the rabbi, and he is portrayed almost exclusively as down to earth, honest, spiritual, and the set of good things that Christian clergy, especially Catholic priests, are not. The overall effect is a negative view of Arabs and Christianity, and a strictly positive view of Jews and Judaism, "a deceitful, sentimental and ultra-romantic Jewish historiography, from which all inconvenient facts have been expunged."[34]

The classic antithesis of the onslaught against Catholicism is the heroification of Jews and Judaism in the movie *The Chosen*. In no other movie are we acquainted with so large a cast of good, healthy, holy, Jewish heroes. The main character is an old rabbi, and the plot revolves around the rabbi's concern that his brilliant son is leaving the family and reading too many books. The main scenes are home, the library, the dining room table, and family. Drama and action come about when street thugs chase the Jewish boys. All the main character and family scenes are full of touching emotion and diligent, sincere study of the Torah and the Talmud in the morning and college in the afternoons. The boys have deep, intellectual discussions about science and the frontiers of the mind. A tinkling piano and weeping violin set the overall emotional tone. Women engage men in gentle platonic love, and in their spare time, either dance, sing, or pray. They are totally friendly, inoffensive, and unassuming, and display none of the common

modern traits of ambition, lust, and hate so common in television programming.

Nazi cruelty is, of course, the main theme. The viewer gets the same photo-documentaries that have been extant in U.S. public and parochial schools. Only Jews died in concentration camps. The tie-in to the new Israeli becomes obvious and necessary to the modern Jewish heroes. Jews have special powers: they work miracles and predict the future. Jewish marriages and ceremonies are joyous affairs—unlike the Christian marriage portrayed, for example, in *The Godfather*. Jewish children memorize books as fast as they can read them. The "never again" mentality once again becomes the simple justification of Israel: modern Jew meets traditional Jew. "I was shipping guns to Palestine, Dad." "That's my boy! C'mon, lets eat." The tired old traditional Jew has a Christ-like portrayal, and the old rabbi looks like Moses, while the modern Jew looks like the stereotyped U.S. intellectual: tall and thin, wearing thick glasses! It is the complete Jewish media stereotype: they laugh, cry, pray as family.

Also typical of television programming are episodes built into the serial dramas that are the staple of the rerun market. A typical example here is the *Magnum PI* series.[35] In one episode, Magnum shoots up a church in the middle of a mass, to catch a killer posing as a nun. In another episode, Magnum drives Rabbi Asher Solomon, a "best friend" of Higgins, from the airport. Solomon was, of course, an escapee of World War II Poland, where his wife and child were killed. He is a deliberately likeable guy, public citizen, and soccer coach, and he settles one of the interminable arguments between Magnum and Higgins. The story is about bad guys who stole a Torah from the rabbi. The bad guy is "a filthy pig;" and the rabbi pursues the "will of God" for Jews. The rabbi will track down the stolen Torah, for which he will "risk anything." Magnum, the private detective around whom the show is built, doesn't lead the hunt, but is honored to help if he can just tag along so that he can learn from the rabbi. The rabbi makes pains to say that he learns from everything. He is self-effacing and offers polite suggestions, kindly advice. He is a gourmet and gives away a new chicken soup recipe for the flu. He is charming, disarming, and is at ease dispensing philosophical wisdom and golf tips. Everyone listens to him; he is always right. Detective Tanaka will "put pressure" on the local cops to have them help recover the stolen Torah. Doors open when the

rabbi prays out loud in Yiddish, and the character Rick recognizes the chant with "Oy, do I know it." The rabbi treads slowly and stops to pray. His desire to walk saves lives from a car bomb: God helps the Jews. "We have a saying..." Brilliant deductions from the rabbi out-deduce everyone, including the cops and the detectives. At the end of the show, the rabbi is in the cemetery with his recovered Torah, singing in Yiddish. A touching, emotional ending with Higgins ensues. The Torah is a gift from the dead to the living.

Televised imagery aside, there has also been a sweeping change in the tone and intent of many Jewish organizations in the United States and around the world. Judaism has become militant and nationalistic, involved in the promotion of Israel over the purely spiritual needs of the Jewish community. These believers in the Jewish state are "more dangerous...because their policies are being sanctified either by the use of religion or, worse, by the use of secularized religious principles..." leading to an attitude characterized by chauvinism, xenophobia, and racism.[36] A few examples show how this is happening.

The mission statement of the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) Rabbinical Cabinet is a long tract to orchestrate the activities of uniting rabbis of all ideologies. It endeavors to apprise the lay Jewish leadership with the concerns of the Israel ideology, infuse Israeli political values and content into the annual and special campaigns of local federations, and serve Israel and the Jewish people with rabbinical involvement and support. Since its inception, the UJA has served to distribute funds to the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI), and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), in furtherance of these purposes. The UJA and the JDC also authorize annual allocations to the New York Association for New Americans. It enhances Jewish federation and independent community campaigns with consultation services, overseas missions, solicitation opportunities, marketing and communication support, public relations, national constituent groups, leadership development, and networking among lay and professional leaders. In short, it is the premiere organization for the propagandization of ethnic Jewish-Americans into the philosophy and new religion of Israel, and their transformation into politicized American Jews. Attempts by ethnic Jewish-Americans to debate, combat, or in any

way interrupt the new Jewish religion are met with highly organized moral and physical blackmail:

> From the outset, Zionist propaganda had in any case presented the Zionist option as a duty, as the natural outcome of tendencies latent in all Jews. On many occasions, Israel proclaims itself their representative. The set of Jews has thus tended to appear to others as a grouping of a national type, which seemed to confirm the traditional denunciation of them by anti-Semites.[37]

The pressure exerted by the secular and religious propaganda against ethnic Jews is considerable. On the one hand, the media portray Jews and Jewish life as uniformly harmonious, and characterized by a love of learning, unwavering devotion to family and religion, and a love of Israel. The image of perfection is clearly preferable to the image of Jews of the Middle Ages, sickly persons without joy or vigor engaged in hollow intellectualism and shady activities. It presents, however, an ideal that is so uniformly positive as to be unattainable, creating in its wake a set of social and spiritual problems within the Jewish community and family. Those who defy or rebel against the new image for its discontinuous assumption of support for Israel are labeled as self-hating Jews by the organizations of the American-Jewish establishment. This blackmail is not only cruel and unfair, but also detrimental to the basic tenets of a democratic society: the ability to freely express ideas and religious beliefs. The Jewish community in the United States is heavily propagandized, and is under heavy pressure to conform with respect to support for Israel and all of its activities.[38]

Islam Fights a Different Battle

While Christianity fights for control of its image, partly because of its own folly, and Judaism labors under the sanitized holiness of its imagery, Islam fights another kind of battle. Seldom is Islam mentioned directly in the media for its religious beliefs. Instead, Muslims are identified only through their association with terrorist groups. This is the well-known imagery presented in mainstream media forms.

Edward Said, a Palestinian writer in the United States and one of the only known voices for the Palestinian Arab point of view in the U.S. media,

comments in great detail on the depth and breadth of the propaganda effort. He refers to the mass media as the "communal core of interpretations" for describing Islam, and devotes considerable interpretative power to the overall combined effect of the different techniques.[39] He recounts a *New York Times* article explaining the "Shi'a penchant for martyrdom," and comments about the quality of reporters sent on location to gather news. In *Covering Islam*, he notes that

> ..."Islam" has licensed not only patent inaccuracy but also expressions of unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural and even racial hatred, deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility. All this has taken place as a part of what is presumed to be fair, balanced, responsible coverage of Islam. Aside from the fact that neither Christianity nor Judaism, both of them going through quite remarkable revivals (or "returns"), is treated in so emotional a way, there is an unquestioned assumption that Islam can be characterized limitlessly by means of a handful of recklessly general and repeatedly deployed cliches. Islam represents barbarism; for the left, medieval theocracy; for the center, a kind of distasteful exoticism.[40]

He cites Hourani's strikingly constant description of the derogation of Islam as a system of faith. Apart from occasional interest in Sufi writers or saints, the so-called wisdom of the East rarely includes Islamic sages or poets.[41] When *Time* magazine devoted its major story to Islam on April 6, 1979, the cover was "...as a florid and overstated a nineteenth-century period piece of Orientalist art as one could imagine...emblazoned with the caption that had nothing to do with it: 'The Militant Revival.'"[42]

The strong association made between Islam and Arab militarism has resulted from overwhelmingly negative mass-mediated imagery. Additionally, the association with terrorist organizations has brought about a spate of hate crimes directed against Muslims. In 1997 alone, almost 300 incidents of anti-Muslim harassment, discrimination, and actual violence occurred.[43] This is an enormous number, considering that the Jewish community, easily twenty times the size of the Islamic community in the United States, experienced about 600 such events. Muslims find it necessary to defend their religion against defamatory remarks from

mainstream new magazine editors, public television stations, and newspapers across the country.[44] While Israeli prime ministers enter the United States buoyed by stirring support from evangelical Christians, U.S. Muslims are going through a difficult period in which attacks on mosques are becoming commonplace.[45]

Conclusion

The media does not yet know how to define or describe the kind of racism that springs from organized religion, but ignorance does not keep propagandists from attempting to manipulate religious meaning. The question that religionists put forward to counter the new mediated morality is thus: If we reject religion and therefore do not have sin in our vocabulary, we have no need for morality, and anything and everything is fair game. The rules become "take whatever you can get away with," even if that means murder. Rape and homosexuality become the mass-mediated flowers of good will, offerings by those who want the material without the moral, who are willing to show their contempt for morality as their rejection of religion.

Both the problem and the solution (or rather, the healing therapies) lie in the separation of morality from organized religion. We find the society embroiled in a debate over whether public schools should teach morality, where we forbid the teaching of religion. Further, morality separated from religion appears to have no basis, no foundation. There becomes no method for determining that man has an intelligence of form higher than the common beast, and correspondingly, a morality reduced to the level of the beast.

Church members are caught in the net of propaganda and react pretty much like everyone else. As a result, an almost complete dissociation takes place between their Christianity and their behavior. Their Christianity remains a spiritual and purely internal set of beliefs. This widening of the gap between religion and morality, particularly its systematic widening, is the fruit of propaganda in the political domain, which is uniformly supported by advertising in the private domain.

In the hands of propagandists, religion and peace in the Middle East have both soured in the prolonged presence of guns, hatred, and fifty years of intermittent war. Religions have become portrayed as diseases of imagination, the organized and directed manipulation of the perceived

collective consciousness. They begin with poor elements of the kinds of beliefs that separate humans from animals on the intellectual and moral scales. Beliefs become the symbology of religions. The religion becomes merely the collection of symbols, the methods of conveying the presence of God to the people. That is the symbology. The actual message of the religion is delivered from the pulpit, and it begins with the so-called sacred texts, the ancient verses from religious figures, old and new testaments, and so forth.

Religion itself has become a battleground in Israel's war against the United States. From marginalized political commentators and candidates to mainstream Christian literature, religion generally, but Christianity more specifically, is under attack. Our media—radio, television, newspapers, cinema—are at war with us, with our values, traditions, and our abilities to exercise those rights free from the kind of sustained intimidation, sarcasm, and ridicule that have become a characteristic and a hallmark of the U.S. media over the past thirty years. However, the real effort of the religiously oriented population in the United States in stepping up and demanding their religious rights, and in denouncing the oppression and ridicule provided by the media establishment, has yet to be realized.

[1] Ellul 1973, p. 50.

[2] Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Zionism and the Ideological Manipulation of Christian Symbols," quoted from *American Arab Affairs*. From a talk given by the author at the Palestinian Human rights campaign conference, Washington, D.C., in March 1987.

[3] Fulton Sheen's television program, *Life is Worth Living*, was the leading Tuesday night prime time television draw throughout much of the 1950s. From Morris 1997, p. 226.

[4] See, for example, Halsell 1986.

[5] Americans now listen to more than 1,400 religious stations. Of the 80,000 fundamentalist pastors who broadcast daily over 400 radio stations, a vast majority are dispensationalists.

[6] Hal Lindsey is the best-known prophecy teacher in the world and author of 15 best-selling books, including *Blood Moon*, *Planet Earth 2000 A.D.*, *The Final Battle*, and *Amazing Grace*. *The Late, Great Planet Earth* alone has sold more than 18 million copies, and was a bestseller during the 1980s.

[7] Halsell 1986, p. 17.

[8] According to a 1985 Nielsen survey, televangelists reach an estimated 60 million listeners. Quoted from Halsell 1986. The numbers have grown since then.

[9] Halsell 1986, pp. 14–19.

[10] He became entangled with the B'nai B'rith who claimed he used the term "European bankers" as a veiled negative reference to Jews, but he apologized.

[11] Associated Press 1995.

[12] Rev. Swaggart's March 1985 program from Kansas City centers on the fact that the Israelis are the only hope for the United States and are God's divinely mandated representatives on earth.

[13] "God has raised up Israel...we're watching Him move in behalf of Israel...what an excellent time to begin to support our government as it supports Israel...what an excellent time...to let God know how much you appreciate the very roots of Abraham..." (Halsell 1986, p. 16).

[14] Halsell 1986, p. 79.

[15] Halsell 1986.

[16] Morris 1997, p. 290.

[17] A television monitoring service in Alexandria, Virginia, MRC, publishes a newsletter, *TV Etc*, billed as a review of the politics of the entertainment industry. Its focus is mainly to bash the perceived political leftism in television programming by focusing on the content and themes of television shows and personalities.

[18] See the article in *Catalyst* (1996), the journal of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights.

[19] Letter from Donohue (1996), president of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights. Founded in 1973 by Fr. Virgil Blum, the league is the nation's largest Catholic civil rights organization. Its expressed purpose is to defend the right of Catholics to participate in U.S. life free from defamation and discrimination.

[20] Donohue 1996 (p. 3), "Sticking to Our Mission."

[21] Donohue 1996, "The Media's War on the Catholic Church."

[22] Swaddling 1994, p. 1.

[23] A show that remained an evening serial staple on CBS for many years despite its low ratings.

[24] See Gordon 1993.

[25] April 5, 1989; channel 28, Columbus.

[26] NBC, channel 4, November 8, 1997; 9:00 p.m.

[27] A Disney film (Miramax, a Disney subsidiary); Donohue 1996.

[28] Kintz 1997.

[29] *Washington Post* 1993, p. A22.

[30] *Chicago Sun-Times* 1995.

[31] *Chicago Sun-Times* 1995.

[32] From Elizabeth Kastor (1997), Washington Post staff writer.

[33] See Morris 1997.

[34] Shahak 1994, p. 16.

[35] Starring Tom Selleck. First appeared in the late 1970s with reruns through the 1980s.

[36] Shahak 1994, p. 12.

[37] Cited in Rodinson 1983, pp. 112–13. See also pages 148–50.

[38] Ellul 1973, p. 51: "...the individual who is part of an intense collective life is prone to submit to the influence of propaganda. And anyone who succeeds in keeping aloof from the intense collective life is generally outside the influence of propaganda, because of his ability to escape that intensity. Of course, the intensity is connected with the centers of interest; it is not an unformed or indeterminate current without direction. It is not just a haphazard explosion. Rather, it is a force for which the focus of interest is the compass needle."

[39] Said 1981. See especially p. 43.

[40] Said 1981, p. xv.

[41] "Islam and the Philosophy of History," Albert Hourani. Quoted in Said 1981.

[42] Said 1981, p. 13.

[43] Council on American Islamic Relations 1996a.

[44] See Council on American Islamic Relations (1996b). The report cites *U.S. News and World Report* and PBS television program *Jihad in America.*

[45] See Laub 1998.

8. American Society

Americans experience attacks from the U.S. media aimed at suppressing their contributions to the debate on the question of U.S. support for Israel. Why are ethnic groups in the United States experiencing demographically precise character attacks? Why is it that so many documentaries about the Jewish Holocaust are aired on commercial and public television and so few on other holocausts around the world? American Jewish organizations seem to be at war with many German, Polish, and Arab Americans in order to suppress anti-Israel thinking, and to avoid real debate of American support for Israel. American Jewish organizations go out of their way to suggest a strong support for Israel in the African-American community, and to reward or punish African-American organizations that stray from this line.

For some time now, Israel has had a free rein over the apparatus of the Jewish propaganda organs in the United States. Israel's emotional and religious control of Jewish ownership and influence in the U.S. media is also generally well known and well documented, This chapter will focus on the extent of the damage that Israel has brought upon American society in its war to control U.S. resources.

The social factors of race, religion, and education are important predictors of the ways and means by which people formulate belief systems. These social systems derive from consciousness, morality, and intelligence, respectively, of society and its members. Both the government and the media conduct research and publish social indicators, scales against which to weigh the positive qualities of the society and its consequent "goodness," indicative of the quality of life in the United States and elsewhere. But these are mainstream avenues of communication that are seamlessly hooked in to local, national, and international support networks. The real, grass-roots, social factors to observe for either the national or local politic are most easily identified when reduced to a purer personal level. To speak about morality, though, is to look at the images of Christianity—especially those of Catholicism and televangelism—Judaism, and Islam. Ask the ethnic Palestinians or Germans, how often they encounter deeply held beliefs about themselves based on media-induced "faults," erroneous historical

concepts, and the ingrained human fears that drive bigotry. The intended psychological impact is unmistakable.

Media researchers have identified four broad "stigma" areas that can be statistically shown to regularly influence buying behavior when properly promoted: ethnic identity, religious affiliation, behavioral characteristics, and physical impairments. People often find themselves uncomfortable around stigmatized individuals, and those who do may attempt to cover it with patronizing kindness. Both parties may become painfully aware and end up feeling frustrated and saddled with a fraudulent relationship. An Arab, Asian, African-American, or Mexican, a Muslim or Christian fundamentalist, or a disabled person living in the United States can discuss this problem in considerable detail.[1]

The stigmatized often develop self-expectations that conform to the expectations of others. They are aware that they are disliked or considered inferior. The stereotypical expectations can evoke behavior that reflects the stereotype, which usually provokes and reinforces further rejection and discrimination, or insincere treatment. The mechanism is perpetual, largely unconscious, and deadly in its potential for social destructiveness.

Race and Ethnicity

The racial element can be divided into ethnic and racial components. Federal agencies, including state schools, have long recorded data related to race and ethnicity, grouping people as Caucasian, Hispanic, or African-American, and so forth. The resulting statistics, publicly available, show that by the year 2050, the U.S. population will increase significantly, and that African-Americans and Hispanics as a group will outnumber Caucasians. Ethnic demographic data is available for endless reinterpretation.

Ethnicity is the positive force in consciousness. It is the eye of beauty and excitement, of romance, health, and comfort. It is the gleam in the eyes of little old ladies who speak with accents. Ethnicity is differentiated along lines of beauty, health, personality type, social attitude, and other regularly studied factors.

The racial element of consciousness is the electrically charged opposite of ethnicity, and is a depiction of a society steeped in anger and revenge

based on ignorance and consequent fear of the unknown, as expressed in the media. Morality becomes the mechanism whereby people choose between "right" and "wrong." The primary moralities of the human condition are identified as religions. Their buildings house social elements, such as congregations, areas of common worship, and a common belief structure, apparatus, and ritual.

Another great psychological reflection of social reality is myth. Myth can express the deep inclinations of a society. Society uses myth to cling to a certain civilization or its process of development and crisis. It is a vigorous impulse, strongly colored, irrational, and charged with all of humankind's power to believe. It contains a religious element. In our society, the great fundamental myths on which all other myths rest are science, art, and history. Based on them are the collective myths that are humankind's principal orientations: the myths of work, happiness, birth, family, aging, death, the nation, youth, the hero, and the enemy. Propaganda builds on these presuppositions and myths to be effective.

> ...[E]ffective propaganda...must be associated with the dominant cultural values of the entire society.... [P]ropaganda's main task clearly is the psychological reflection of these structures.... [T]his reflection is found in two essential forms: the collective sociological presuppositions and the social myths. By presuppositions we mean a collection of feelings, beliefs, and images by which one unconsciously judges events and things without questioning them, or even noticing them.... It seems to us that there are four great collective sociological presuppositions in the modern world.... These common presuppositions of bourgeois and proletarian are that man's aim in life is happiness, that man is naturally good, that history develops in endless progress, and that everything is matter.[2]

With these thoughts in mind, let's look at the more prominently displayed

ethnic American groupings and their myths as built and propagated in the mass media.

Jewish-Americans and American Jews

It has been a few years since the Jewish groups who claim to represent all Jewish-Americans decided, in one of their amazingly various conventions, that they would upgrade their citizenship by declaring themselves "American Jews." The ploy was that by putting "American" before "Jew," they would demonstrate that, despite their allegiance and support for the state of Israel, they were primarily—first of all, that is—Americans. They wanted to become, in their own eyes and by virtue of their new phrase, more American than any ordinary hyphenated-American ethnic. Moreover, when writing about the American Middle Eastern politic, they became more American than Arab-Americans, who, according to this faulty logic, are "Arab" first.

Jews by choice and Arabs by defensive imitation have deliberately set themselves apart from every other ethnic American. The mainstream, common-use phraseology is to place the name of the ethnic group with a hyphen before the word "American," thus: Polish-American, Hungarian-American, Irish-American, Chinese-American, and so forth.

"American Jews" are reacting to a widely held political observation that they would gladly subvert any American ideal, plan, program, or defense if doing so would benefit the state of Israel. In short, Israel's uniformly positive Jewish-oriented propaganda has presented Jewish-Americans with an image problem. In addition, Americans are reacting to high-profile, uncontested gifts and grants to Israel with growing resentment. Mainstream Americans also see money siphoned from state and local government for Israeli war bonds, synagogues in France, and luxury houses in occupied territories, as well as other similar tax dollar subterfuges.

The American ethnic melting pot is not a unique historical phenomenon, but nowhere else in history has it been nationally recognized and embraced as a characteristic signature as in the modern American multicultural society. Americans often boast of their mixed heritages with ethnic self descriptions such as "Well, my father is half German and half Swedish, and my mother is of French and Irish descent." This

kind of cultural self-awareness, common and in an ethnic sense prized in the United States, is discouraged in Israel's propaganda, in which a person cannot be "half Jewish," but must claim to be fully Jewish or not Jewish at all. The "fully Jewish" premise, a boisterous controversy in political Judaism, is an important precondition to bringing more of those who are "at least one-third Jewish" into the structure of American Jewish organizations. Promoting full Jewishness, even at the expense of other ethnic contributions to a personality, is important for unified political support and contributes to the overall success of fundraising and political support. Being Jewish is defined in part to mean support of Jewish organizations and allegiance to Israel. The Jewishness premise, for Jews in the United States, casts Jewish thinking on ethnicity and multiculturalism in direct opposition to current American social development. It contributes, in short, to the outmoded racial idea of Jewish separateness from American society. Amen

In general terms, U.S. Jewish organizations are a collection mechanism for contributions from the Jewish community and individual donors, which are separate and distinct from U.S. federal aid. The contributions are distributed for three principal purposes: to finance the collection mechanism itself, to look after the welfare of the Jewish community, and to make contributions to Israel. The Israeli government and the Jewish Agency receive the bulk of the contributions, which, as of 1998, amounted to well over $1 billion annually. 6M Jews = $167 each

The ethnic Jewish-American has the most consistently positive, enlightening, wholesome presentations of any ethnic representation on television or anywhere in the mass media. From the regularly broadcast gut-wrenching and graphic trauma of World War II (staple programs on PBS television nationwide) presenting the image of Jewish victims to the regular hype as to why Seinfeld, Podhoretz, or Spielberg is uniquely intellectual and clever comedy. Cinema's meanest depictions of ethnic Jewish-Americans are voiced by Woody Allen, whose idea of a "bad Jew" is one who eats greasy pork chops. The media portray Jews exclusively as middle-class American heroes, eating hot dogs and rooting for the New York Yankees, showing kindness to their families and their fellow humans, and being religious, faithful, and true. Even the occasional Jewish convicted murderer may appear on screen, but only one who killed unintentionally in the course of a radical political action. True

Typical examples of the description of the stereotypical Jewish intellectual are found all over the Internet: A Jewish discussion leader tends to be a college graduate and a Jewish theological school. Normally male, his average age is thirty-one years, and his profession often is a rabbi of a suburban congregation. He lectures widely on such diverse topics as Jewish mysticism and sexuality in Jewish life, and also claims a characteristic alternative hobby, such as playing electric blues guitar. Print-mediated descriptions of American Jews like Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol display classic print journalism style, and the stereotype here is so well known that even the ridicule gets out of hand:

> ...[C]onsider the recent "conservative Summit" sponsored by the National Review Institute in Washington in March, [1994]. ...Jack Kemp, the ubiquitous favorite of the Stupid Party...launched into a speech on What Conservatism Means to Me, which informed his audience that the first duty of conservatives is to battle "anti-Semitism and racism." ...Just to let everyone know where he stands, when yet another stupido said (in public, no less) that Bill Kristol is the nation's leading conservative intellectual, Judge Bork at once dissented and identified Irving Kristol (Bill's father) as the leading conservative egghead in the country, Irving's wife, Gertrude Himmelfarb, as the second leading conservative intellectual in the country, and Bill as only the third leading conservative intellectual in the country, for which remarks Judge Bork received massive applause from the audience.[3]

These stereotypes are not bad per se just because they present Jews in a good light. The underlying problem is the conscious effort to refrain from portraying other ethnic groups in a positive way. The situation is changing somewhat with respect to African-Americans and Hispanics, mainly because both of these ethnic groups have large enough population bases to react in significant political and social ways.

Will and Ariel Durant's *History of Civilization* is a contemporary monument to revisionist history, aggrandizing above all else, Jewishness,

creating Jewish heroes in all areas of human endeavor as if Jews were singularly responsible for all advances in art, medicine, physics, philosophy, religion, and so forth—all of the "civilized" arts of humanity.

In his book, *The Sacred Chain: The History of the Jews*, Norman Cantor, who is Jewish, attributes Jewish dominance in modern society to superior innate intelligence. In large part, his assessment of the degree of Jewish dominance in modern society is similar to that put forth by anti-Semites. He, however, gives a nonconspiratorial explanation for this development and sees it to be for overall benefit for humankind, although perhaps not too beneficial for Palestinians.[4]

Cantor's generation of American Jews sees that Israel as at odds with Jewish and American values. Israel is an occupier of lands and a destroyer of homes, even while Jewish liberalism in the United States struggles with the social implications of homeless Americans. While fighting to outlaw public execution, American Jews overwhelmingly support an Israel that randomly kills civilians in Israel, Lebanon, and the occupied territories. Jewish values include peace and reconciliation, as well as hatred and vengeance.[5]

To suggest that racially motivated epithets make for better Americans flies in the face of everyday sensibility. It makes American Jews seem, well, less American. The connotation gives currency to the very kind of separatism that Jews have detested for so long by suggesting an intrinsically anti-Semitic claim, that is, that Jews are different from everyone else, cannot fit into non-Jewish societies, and resent the American multiethnic milieu.

Along the lines of common spoken English, the first word in their appellation, "American," becomes a modifier for the second, "Jew." The syntactic implication is that "American" indicates a type of Jew, thereby declaring that the Jewish element is the noun, dominant—exactly the opposite of the stated intent of being "more" American. Jewish-American indicates an ethnic type of American; American Jew indicates a geographic type of Jew. The former connotation is ethnic, and the latter racial.

The critical distinction to make is whether these "Americans" are acting in the American interest, or if they are the mouthpieces of foreign

propaganda. The media inundate us with images of heroic, tiny Israel adrift and lonely in a sea of violent and hostile Arabs.

We must recognize the role played by the propagandized and traumatized American Jews, and remember that they do not represent or overshadow the views and hopes for peace that are quietly expressed by the ethnic Jewish-Americans.

Cultural characteristics differentiate Arab from Jew. We've heard it said many times: The Jews have a longer history of Western orientation than the Arabs. The Arab countries, with few exceptions, are still decades, even centuries, behind the West in progressive cultural attitudes and beliefs. The current Western cultural attitude toward "required knowledge" is that if something can't be done, find someone who can do it, pay him or her, and learn and grow. Judaism has created a country on this principle. The Arab East, on the other hand, still clings to the chauvinist notion that they can influence those whom they don't really understand (the West) with techniques that have no Western social or moral counterpart. That's why the oil weapon and oil wealth are toothless against the aggressions that threaten the Middle East. That's why Arabs fare so poorly in the Western media: Even though they have the means, Arabs refuse to buy expertise in areas in which they most desperately need it.

Anti-Semitism and the Anti-Defamation League: Spying on Other Ethnic and Political Groups

Israel's impact on the Jewish-American community has been considerable, but not unexpected. After all, the creation of Israel is the answer to millennia of Jewish prayers. Even the relationship between government and religion is to be expected. But the impact upon other facets and groups in U.S. society came as wholly unexpected shocks when Israeli representatives were discovered spying on U.S. citizens.

Roy "Cal" Bullock investigated any and all antidemocratic movements assigned to him by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) for nearly forty years. He has been described by the ADL's chief spymaster in New York as "our Number One investigator."[6] What Bullock and the ADL apparently considered "antidemocratic"

organizations stretched into the hundreds. The names of individuals in his database numbered well beyond 10,000.[7]

The reaction of the mainstream U.S. Jewish establishment to the ADL's activities has been supportive, with only a handful of exceptions. For the most part, they have accepted the ADL denials of wrongdoing as statements of fact. On a national level, this has come from the Conference of Presidents of the Major American Jewish Organizations, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, the World Jewish Congress, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and the American Zionist Movement. Locally, the city's leading Jewish political players did what they could to get ADL criminality out of the public limelight. Over and over again, the ADL bellowed ever-more strident denials of any and all felonious activity. In its earliest response to the matter, the ADL asserted that if its procedures had in any respect been faulty, it would have corrected them. An enthusiastic endorsement of the ADL by a variety of Jewish organizations and leaders immediately sprang into the national media. The media then sought to quiet legitimate concern by masking the issue, putting sound bites where an analysis of the event should have been.

While Bullock infiltrated neo-Nazi and skinhead groups because of their alleged threats to the U.S. Jewish community, his and the ADL's main concerns were organizations and individuals considered threats or potential threats to Israel. These seemed to include not only the more obvious targets—Palestinians and Arab-Americans and their support groups—but organizations representing virtually every aspect of the progressive social, legal, and political spectrum, including those opposing apartheid. Bullock kept files on dozens of Arab-American organizations and individuals. This eventually led him to do similar spying on African-Americans for the South African intelligence service together with another San Francisco police inspector, who also illegally kept a set of files. Bullock received hundreds of thousands of dollars in payment for his work overall, from an estimated $34 million per year spent by the ADL for its Israel-sponsored reconnaissance effort. In a clear case of criminality hiding behind the constitution, the ADL and Bullock claimed that their secret files, gathered for a foreign

intelligence effort and directed against U.S. citizens and social groups, are their private property, protected by the First Amendment.

Bullock obtained and traded with the ADL confidential information from state and local agencies, including criminal, Division of Motor Vehicles (DMV), and other confidential files. "We are talking about the use of information from DMV files, criminal files, and other confidential files," ABC News was told, "files from state and local agencies that were being illegally furnished and illegally received." There were many files on the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in the ADL's Los Angeles office, along with the names of "any Arab American with anti-Israel leanings or any Arab-Americans that wrote letters to the newspaper editors."[8]

After numerous interviews and analysis of the documents seized in eight searches, indications were that inquiries were made to DMV vehicle registration and driver's license numbers of members of ethnic Arab-American memberships. One agent's police assignment was to act as liaison to the Arab community, which "required" that he attend community events, giving him the necessary cover to join Bullock in recording the vehicle licenses of those attending. At hearings, the ADL initially claimed merely collecting benign background files and newspaper clippings. Critics argue that the use of secret evidence for any purpose ought to be illegal. "The two men may have provided information to Israel's spy agency Mossad as well. Included in Gerard's files was information on every major Arab-American organization and hundreds of their members. ...[F]ailure of the judicial system to prosecute all of those involved in spying on thousands of their fellow citizens suggests that the effort to achieve full civil rights for all Americans still has a long way to go."[9]

Some of Bullock's responses to inquiries by the FBI were truly extraordinary. One of the individuals he was keeping tabs on was Alex Odeh, the head of the ADC office in Orange County, who was murdered in 1987 by a bomb in his office. The bomb is believed to have been planted by the Jewish Defense League, another militarized arm of B'nai B'rith.

Dual Citizenship and Aliyah

No other ethnic group in the United States encounters the enormous encouragement to attain dual citizenship and act out primary allegiance to a foreign government as do American Jews. Considering Israel's unique status as a recent nation, the phenomenon can almost be understood and allowed to pass, if simply in order to increase the confidence of American Jews in the wake of their war trauma. But then, much of the war trauma is hyped to support not only increased contributions from American Jews, but also to ensure their ideological and political support. The overt rampage through the American Jewish community is not without precedent.

A March 1979 Central Intelligence Agency report on Israel's intelligence services—discovered and circulated by Iranian revolutionaries at the ransacked U.S. Embassy in Tehran—suggested that Israel has long sought to use its contacts among various Jewish communities around the world to serve its interests. "The Israeli intelligence service depends heavily on the various Jewish communities and organizations abroad for recruiting agents and eliciting general information," the report stated.[10]

Israel's prime ministers have urged legislation to bring young American Jews to Israel each summer to combat assimilation in the American Diaspora. The Diaspora is defined as "...the entire Jewish community outside the geopolitical boundaries of the modern state of Israel." Israel promotes the image of Diaspora Jews living as aliens so that they can call themselves Jews first in whatever country they reside, and promotes the image among the gentile population of Jews as visitors. "There are no English, French, German or American Jews, but only Jews living in England, France, Germany or America."[11]

Efforts in this regard are carried out on a regular basis by Israel's Jewish Telegraph Agency. This agency sends *shaliach* agents (recruiters) throughout the United States. They organize Israeli affairs, such as pro-Israel demonstrations, as well as conspire to create disruptions of social and university activities that they see as anti-Israel.[12]

The high rate of Jewish assimilation in the United States is perceived as just as much of a threat to ethnic and religious Judaism as anti-

Semitism was in the first half of the century. Jewish assimilation is therefore an enemy of Israel, and serves as a warrant for social and political investigation. The Jewish Agency therefore helps to arrange for *aliyah*, or "return," trips for American Jews. These trips are structured to inculcate American Jews with the main propaganda themes of Israel. The agency also organizes and funds independent study projects about the World War II experience of European Jews, and in general, actively creates Israeli "experts in training" or conspiratorial zealots among American Jews.

Baruch Goldstein, the murderer at the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, was part of the Orthodox Jewish community in Israel. Trained at the Albert Einstein School of Medicine at Yeshiva College, he was an organizer of the Jewish Defense League and personal assistant to the radical Meir Kahane. He refused to treat wounded Arabs, and quoted the Torah to justify his position. "During the Lebanon War, the chief army physician told Goldstein to treat wounded Hezbollah prisoners. Goldstein refused, and when the army called Meir Kahane to try to get him to change Goldstein's mind, Kahane refused, saying that to treat an Arab was against the Torah."[13]

Efforts to inflame memories of World War II atrocities against Jews received a boost from the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., which stands as the largest monument to that war in the United States. In addition, the movie *Schindler's List* added to the menagerie of ideas.[14] Beneath the propaganda, Israel's American Jews struggle for control of U.S. political, social, financial, and military resources, while Jewish-Americans struggle for identity.

U.S. law enforcement officials have long suspected that Israel was playing fast and loose with the common international understanding that bars covert operations against each other. There is always some spying going on, even among very close friends and allies. But that is a far cry from actually planting a mole in a friendly country's intelligence community, and an even further cry from active recruitment of citizens to carry on the work of Israel domestically.[15]

Lebanese and Palestinian Arab-Americans

The image of Arab-Americans is an image of Arab foreigners, suggesting that Arabs are alien to the United States, as well as hostile. A well-documented host of other negative imagery is associated with Arabs in the U.S. media. For national and international news coverage, and especially noticeable, for U.S. news coverage of the Middle East, there simply are no ethnic Arab-Americans. There are occasional Palestinians or "Uncle Tom" Arab foreigners, but no Arab-Americans.

Many nationally syndicated newspaper columnists are known to defame and dehumanize Arab-Americans with general slurs against their ancestry, and the Society of Professional Journalists doesn't raise an eyebrow. Would papers run a column by someone who said that Jews or African-Americans don't have the same moral structure as the rest of us? It should be no less acceptable to say that about "Middle Easterners." In addition to the regularly allowed defamatory accusations made against them, there are no mainstream pro-Palestinian or pro-Arab columnists of any stripe in the U.S. media.[16]

In fact, Arab-American is a misnomer. Coined from an ignorant—if not a purely racist—knowledge of the rich histories of Middle Eastern peoples, it is the equivalent of referring to all of the specific ethnic Americans from Europe as European-Americans or Caucasians, denying the Italians, Dutch, English, Germans, and others of their specific heritages. The Iraqis, for example, while Arabic speaking, maintain their Chaldean historical identity. The Syrians have their own illustrious history, as do the Lebanese, Turks, Egyptians, and practically every other people in the Middle East. A Lebanese is as Arabic as an American is English. By referring to the various nationalities of the Middle East as Arabs, the Jews themselves become Arabs.

The negative stereotypes in television not only create negative impressions of Arab-Americans in the mass consciousness generally, that is, across all belief groups in the television audience, they also specifically create limiting beliefs within Arab-Americans. That is to say, they train both Americans and Arab-Americans to believe that Arabs are not in touch with reality. They do this by using flowery language and references to outmoded social conventions. The movie,

Father of the Bride II, discussed in chapter 4 ("The Media"), offers the typical set of examples.

Arab-American organizations have a different sort of image problem than do those of Jewish-Americans or other ethnic groups. They lack unity, leadership, and funds. They encounter discrimination, harassment, and intimidation when they dare to speak out. And they are heavily outgunned, outspent, and ridiculed by the American Jews. They have no means to counter the vigorous propaganda that regularly plies the American consciousness with justifications for Israeli aggression.

There are three major groupings of Arab-Americans in the United States. The largest group is the generation whose ancestors came over from Lebanon (the Sanjak of Syria) between 1890 and 1910. They came as political refugees from Ottoman oppression. The next major wave, the Palestinians, began arriving en masse after the 1967 war. The Palestinians as bona fide refugees were matched in equal numbers by Jews leaving Russia and Eastern Europe.

Lebanese-Americans—that is to say, the largest group of "Arab-Americans" (a term that Lebanese-Americans don't much like, because, they say, it isn't an accurate reflection of their own personal history) are largely absent from the debate on the most expensive foreign policy issue in U.S. history. This is primarily because those who dared to speak out were harassed by small groups of militant American Jews who viewed waging social warfare against Arab-Americans as doing their bit for Israel.[17] But this was back in the 1960s and 1970s, long after the media's audience research of the 1950s painstakingly documented the characteristics of so many ethnic groups in the United States. As the largest single group of "Arabs" in the United States until the Palestinian immigration, the Lebanese-American Christian political opinion became a threat to Israel.

On the January 20, 1998, *Washington Journal* program on C-Span, nationally syndicated columnist Cal Thomas ridiculed the notion that "people in the Middle East have the same moral structure as the rest of us. Yassir Arafat is one of the most evil men on the world's stage today." What are the consequences of the prevalence of this kind of remark? The consequence for democracy is the rise of the totalitarian

and dictatorial political mentality. The media's conjured-up "Arab scare" is quickly becoming the legitimating means by which government agencies are being cajoled into leading the attack against U.S. civil liberties. Israel and its zealots have placed Arabs at the forefront of U.S. civil liberties issues.

Typical of a growing phenomenon that Arabs around the country are experiencing, a former editor of an Islamic journal and a pastor at a Tampa mosque was denied bond on the basis of secret evidence, which the government says indicates conspiracy with a known terrorist group. None of those being detained was initially charged with any crime. In trying to defend Mazen Najjar, the editor, "his lawyers felt they were fighting a ghost," said his sister, a naturalized U.S. citizen. She said he belonged to a Tampa committee that supported the Palestinian Intifada before it disbanded in 1992, but denied that he had any connection to Middle Eastern terrorists.[18] Secret evidence is inadmissible in criminal cases, including espionage and treason trials, the basis for most charges against American Jews. However, immigration law in effect allows "secret evidence" to be introduced into immigration proceedings. Classified information, passed from the ADL to the FBI, is shared with judges, but withheld from the accused and their lawyers. U.S. Islamic and civil rights groups claim that Muslims and Arabs are being targeted in a campaign of guilt-by-association that relies on secret evidence to brand opponents of Israel as terrorists. Government officials say there is evidence that Muslim organizations in the United States raised funds for groups labeled as "militant" because they oppose the Arab-Israeli peace process.

The events experienced by Arabs in the United States are to a degree different from the racism experienced by the silent Arab-American ethnics. For the most part, Arab-Americans who stay away from Middle Eastern political issues suffer only covert racism—the kind that keeps them from specific positions, professions, and educational and career paths because of the ethnic implication of their last names. Efforts to sabotage their career goals are much more pronounced if they are politically active. The most notable example of an Arab-American who is allowed to go about his business is Ralph Nader because he never enters into the Middle Eastern political debate. The

flip side of Arab-American ethnic racism has many examples. One of the most notable and longest-running involves an ethnic Arab-American who published a flier in 1986 critical of local pro-Israel politicians. Character assassination has plagued him since.[19]

African-Americans

Media imagery is not random or haphazard. It is tightly controlled, with huge amounts of money spent on even single photographs and pages. Imagery of African-Americans, then, cannot be random or haphazard. Especially when we consider that African-Americans are significant purchasers of mainstream consumer goods, such as hamburgers, soft drinks, and tennis shoes, it is easy to see where the imagery is coming from and where it is going.

Racial tension is a powerful weapon. Prior to World War I, Israel Cohen, a Jewish communist, urged his fellow conspirators to use racial tension vigorously:

The media's heavily reinforced message to African-Americans is that they are stupid and violent. African-Americans display prominently in the news as criminals involved with guns, drugs, prostitution, rape, and violent crime. They excel as criminals and murderers. In the movies, they are thugs, gangsters, and jailbirds.

Television prefers to show African-American men more interested in white women, which further denigrates and ridicules African-American women in society at large, especially in the eyes of African-American men. In television shows, they are cops holding guns, protectors of "white chicks," although they are portrayed as quite the opposite in television news. The ominous O. J. Simpson trial was a pseudo-event designed as a long-running set of commercials, commonly called sound bites, showing that it is all right for African-American men to "kill white chicks," because television broadcasting will save and rescue African-American men from "white" justice, if necessary.

African-American women, aside from Oprah Winfrey and female athletes, have until recently had no place in U.S. television. Whether this was good or bad remains debatable. It seems positive that black women are being accepted more and more into mainstream roles and

careers. As most stereotypical media provide strongly negative imagery, African-American women suddenly have been "given" clearly definable, socially acceptable roles as nurses, cops with guns, and the like.

Media imagery for commercials focuses on the African-American male, but more deliberately, on the African-American male crotch. African-American males often step over the camera; the camera is more often at crotch level; African-American males on talk shows, such as Leno's and Letterman's, tend to be sitting spread eagle with the camera at crotch level. Excepting only the crudest of shows, this kind of sexual crudeness is seldom apparent with white male talk show guests.

African-Americans have a very specific set of images in television that belie their fluctuating political awareness and power. In the past three decades, African-American organizations were not immune from investigation by the ADL either. In the 1960s, the federal government feared a united front among African-American leaders, which led to weapons conspiracy charges against the Black Panthers, and the December 1969 FBI raid that left Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead in their beds. Files were maintained on members of the African National Congress and dozens of other anti-apartheid organizations. Bullock's surveillance of anti-apartheid African-Americans reflected the ADL's desire to neutralize critics of Israel's military and economic ties to the South African state, an effort that, the records show, was largely successful.

The effort to keep African-American intellect and ideology under control continues without pause in print, radio, television, and cinematic media forms. Ebonics has been unceremoniously described as elevating a dialect used by poor, uneducated African-Americans to the status of mainstream English with the stated aim of reaching underprivileged African-American children in the public school system. As a social and cultural issue, it appeals to the African-American community and is nationally divisive. Ebonics is controversial because media hype promotes it as a program that perpetuates the separation of African-Americans from mainstream society.

Gangsta rap, a similar kind of anger- and hate-producing mass-mediated phenomenon, is known for its enthusiastic treatment and endorsement of violence.[20]

On February 27, 1984, Nathan Perlmutter of the ADL referred to Rev. Louis Farrakhan as a "Black Hitler." Nat Hentoff, a prominent American Jew and columnist for the *Village Voice*, participated in a New York radio call-in show and also characterized the Muslim leader as a "Black Hitler." Vehemently pro-Israel syndicated opinionists, such as Richard Cohen, Charles Krauthammer, and many others, brag about calling Farrakhan an anti-Semite and normally will validate this kind of extremist claim from behind the standard shield about the Holocaust and the unverified number of dead Jews, no matter how incongruous the logic.[21] Louis Farrakhan, Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, and other African-American leaders have all come under attack for failing to validate or ignore Israel's racism. They continue to lead not only the African-American resistance, but also to voice the resentment of other clearly racist aspects of the U.S. political establishment.

Mass-Mediated Society

Mass-mediated imagery will continue to persuade us to believe otherwise.[22] Recent movies are powerful examples of the effort to keep the African-American–Jewish imagery in line. Examples include the feature film *Driving Miss Daisy* and newspaper articles featuring African-American chefs cooking kosher food, which show how a good African-American servant should behave toward his (almost exclusively "his") Jewish patrons.[23] An even better feature movie was *Independence Day*.

The blockbuster movie *Independence Day*, otherwise known at the movie theater kiosks as *ID4*, has nothing to do with the U.S. Independence Day, aside from its targeted release date (July 1998) and other manipulations of the national symbol. It is an election year (1996) movie, a Bill Clinton election campaign propaganda extravaganza.

In the unprecedented half-hour television infomercial that preceded the movie's opening date, *ID4* looked like a sci-fi entertainment treat. In many respects, it resembled *Babylon 5*, the audience's last, best hope for good sci-fi on broadcast television. In other segments, it resembled *Star Wars*, especially during the battle scenes depicting the actions of heroic pilots. We were shown clips of the White House

blowing apart, and of Apple computers saving the planet. Many popular subliminal cinematic techniques were carried over from Hollywood's audience response research into the popularity of movies, of segments within movies, and of characterizations within movie segments.

The movie's prerelease infomercial lent extra status to the film and implied that it was such a big event that it actually deserved its own network discussion program. Not only did we have a promotion on a network channel for a movie that was produced by a subsidiary of the network channel, but we also had a consolidation of intent in national and international propaganda influences.

Of particular prominence in *ID4* were the African-American and Jewish characterizations. *ID4* was aimed at African-American moviegoers. The movie's undercurrent theme of tender African-American romance, so different from stereotypical African-American screen portrayals of "nasty bitches" and guys from the "hood," strongly reinforced an African-American-male-hero-father image. An African-American woman makes a rare appearance as heroine. Wholesome and sexy despite her profession, she is the glorious partner in a black-black relationship (a far cry from the media's regular fare of African-American men with white chicks), merciful and strong, a loving mother. All the wishes of African-American society are fulfilled: African-American boy-child has a father-hero—the story's hero—and a caring mother, the sexy heroine.

ID4 is certainly wholesome enough to tap into the manly stereotypical imagery of generals, pilots, and lots of good men giving and following orders to get the job done. The heavily reinforced man-imagery is composed of six themes, or "memes," in *ID4*: male, hero, military, president, Jewish, and African-American.

Hooked onto the African-American romantic imagery were Jews, who were also shown to have tender love problems. *ID4* depicted how African-Americans and Jews have love and tenderness in common. But *ID4* isn't really about tender romance and family values. Rather, it shows that clean, wholesome, loving African-American people wind up serendipitously in the company of Jews, who are, of course, thoughtful, intelligent, playful, and loving.

The love-and-romance image also encompassed the president. He was depicted as a faithful husband, loving father, and family man, and his physical features and age easily morphed in the viewer's mind to Clinton. Even the First Lady mind-morphs easily to Hillary.

Heroes, especially military ones, bond with cigars, and nearly 100 cigars were waved in front of the mass audience as one of the small symbols and cinematic themes of manhood. African-Americans, presidents, and Jews have heroic qualities in common. They even smoke cigars together.

The story also has the intellectual hero, the Jew. Actor Jeff Goldblum carries so many Jewish memes in his feature roles that he typifies the stereotypical Jewish male in cinema and television. Special care was taken to give the Jew a father with a stereotypically Jewish mother personality, along with all the media's main symbols depicting Jews (love, tenderness, talkativeness, cutesiness, attractiveness, and intelligence, and so forth). For those of the audience who really needed to visualize, the Jew's prayer book and skull cap were passed between father and son. Additionally, the endearing father read some Hebrew to a group of Holocaust victims gathered at his feet.

Goldblum once again plays the role of the media's stereotypical Jew, and as such, in accordance with the media's uniformly manufactured image of Good Jews, things magically happen for him. He and his father barge in on the president. His laptop interfaces with alien ships. He builds gizmos. He's clever, loyal, and wears his wedding ring after three years of divorce.

But it is the president's speech, his rallying cry to the remaining survivors, that plays most heavily to the Israel war propaganda theme, and which ties the Jewish imagery together. The president's speech emphasizes humanity's right to exist. Existence was and remains one of the pillars of Israeli propaganda, used to rally the U.S. audience against the enemy Arabs in the Middle Eastern wars of the late 1960s and early 1970s. We even get a vignette of Israeli soldiers, poised in the brilliant desert sun, with their flag flying over their U.S.-made Jeep. We'd mistake them for Americans if it weren't for that flag.

A Polish characterization came to the surface in the Secretary of Defense, whom the president, after learning to trust his serendipitous

Jew instead of his Polish-American–surnamed advisor, eventually characterized as a "whining idiot." The scene is another nasty twist on the decades-old Borscht Belt Polish humor.

The movie even has its Arab, an aging homosexual physically reminiscent of Wolfman Jack, who chases after the hero begging to be told what to do next. He gets blown away for us early in the film because this film is too wholesome for homosexuals and Arabs. But the Arab memes sprouting from this character were unmistakable, as was the juxtaposition of smiling, left-facing (to the camera) Bedouins to the drunken-but-reformed right-facing pilot yelling "Up yours!" The movie is a veritable treasure trove of cinematic techniques designed to convey meaning, mold opinion, and influence outcomes. In *ID4*, African-Americans and Jews, working together, save the world.

Fox TV's half-hour special promoting Twentieth Century Fox's *Independence Day* tested the boundaries between political inculcation through long-term television viewing, and the concentrated political efforts of sister film studios. The concentration of ownership in the media, and Israel's influence on that ownership, now allows us to have a TV network promoting not merely an entertainment product, but a foreign political agenda as well. The financial results were spectacular.

Ethnic American Germans and Poles

Ethnic German- and Polish-Americans are ubiquitous, offering up to the common spirit some of our most unique and fascinating cultural icons, from Amish communities to gifted and skilled citizens, professionals, and technicians, and Christian clergy.

German-Americans—the largest ethnic group in America bar none—had an extremely strong ethnic identification for generations. Ethnic Polish-Americans number about 10 million, with Italian-Americans numbering about twice that and Irish-Americans four times that. German-Americans and Polish-Americans were Christians, primarily Catholics, Methodists, and Lutherans, with a set of common moral values so easily shared with the Irish-, Italian-, and Polish-Americans.

During World War I, German-Americans in the United States were badly abused. Several were lynched. The government and Committees

of Public Safety intervened in every aspect of ethnic life, telling Germans that they couldn't speak German in public, or even in their churches, ostensibly for their safety. The German language was banned from schools, even as a foreign language course. Sauerkraut was renamed "liberty cabbage" and the music of Bach, Beethoven, and other German composers was banned for the duration of the war. In some states, German-Americans were even removed from public offices. Ignoring this crucial period in U.S. history makes the German-American experience impossible to understand.

Television has gone to great lengths to intimidate, suppress, and depress the ethnic identity and spirit of German- and Polish-Americans, from early indoctrination of children in public schools through to high school, when the influence becomes strongest. The reason for the attacks are expressed quite clearly by Israel's apologists in the media.

The media see nothing good in German-Americans, but rather blatantly promote the racist notion that all German- and Polish-Americans shall forever carry the responsibility and guilt for the Holocaust and that "... there was no statute of limitations about forgiveness [for Germany]."[24] Being born German in itself is proof of guilt for the Jewish Holocaust.

The German chapter of Pax Christi, an international peace group, said that Germans born after World War II still bore a responsibility for Nazi atrocities. "Germans should be reserved about a controversy that could not have existed without the German crimes in Auschwitz," it said.[25]

Not only television and cinema, but every form of the media regularly carries Nazi this and World War II that, and Nazis killing 6 million Jews. Additionally, the stereotypical psychotic, a regular fixture in adolescent television and cinema, couldn't appear more Germanic looking.

> Goebbels proposed to cultivate a favorable attitude toward Germany among the masses in the Western Hemisphere, hoping thereby to exert a corresponding pressure on U.S. governments for German propaganda. In the Western Hemisphere, the central task would be to develop sympathy for the Third Reich's foreign policy.[26] The intensification of the propaganda

> campaign on the U.S. front included free distribution of news to German-language newspapers in the United States, free educational materials to schools, special radio broadcasts and movie trailers, all coordinated and directed to instill race consciousness in German-Americans and a sense of allegiance to Hitler's Germany. U.S. war propagandists were alarmed, and warned that...if this agitation is permitted to continue unchecked, it...will result in setting apart a large group of inhabitants of the US whose duty it would be to render primary allegiance to the ruler of a foreign power...enervating and incapacitating American governments.[27]

During World War II and in the postwar era as well, Zionist organizations joined with the Allied governments and became deeply involved in creating and promulgating anti- German hate propaganda. There is little doubt that their purpose was to drum up world sympathy and political and financial support for Jewish causes, especially for the formation of the state of Israel. Today, the political benefits of the Holocaust story still plays an important role in the ambitions of Zionist and other organizations in the Jewish community. The leaders of these political and propaganda organizations continue to work to sustain the orthodox Holocaust legend and the myth of German monstrosity during the World War II.

The history of Germany's anger against Jews is at best unclear by Israel's need for German-American collective guilt, shame, and silence. In the article "Paying for the Holocaust," Lorraine Adams (1997) asks how much money Germans should give to Jewish survivors.[28] Haunted by her German past and by what it meant to her to be linked to the German culture as a post World War II media-sensitized American, she has been conditioned to see herself as a person morally demented by birth, who "...grew up in a country that murdered millions of children, women and men...." She is overwhelmed not only with shame, but also with intimidation and self-doubt in her own ability to live as a good person, "wondering whether their German blood carries some potential for evil that they must labor to keep under control." The

shame and intimidation are reinforced nationwide through the films of death camps that were distributed nationally to grade schools in the 1950s and 1960s. She and all German-Americans are intimidated by the media in a way that Japanese never have been, even though many more Americans died in the Pacific theater of the war than in Europe. She is intimidated and ashamed to the extent that she needs to react by going out of her way to form friendships with Jews. Another side effect of this is her German-American inability to speak up against U.S. support for Israeli atrocities. The book goes on to use the catch phrases that are the stock of the abused psyche, such as befriending Jews as acts expiating the criminal guilt of heredity, in-depth reading about the peculiarly Jewish aspect of the Holocaust, atonement for "unspeakable acts," and silence over the scorn and mockery of Nazi German history.[29]

Two movies, *The Murder of Mary Phagan* and *A Fathers Revenge*, are representative examples in this regard. *The Murder of Mary Phagan* was about a girl who was murdered in a pencil factory, and the murderer was suspected to be her boss, a Jew. The Jew was portrayed as a fine, upstanding young man with a beautiful loving wife. He was full of compassion and love, as was she. They seemed to have no malice for the obviously racist prosecutor who referred to the suspect as the "Jew Manager." In *The Father's Revenge*, the father got his revenge on a group of "international terrorists" who captured his daughter and held her as a hostage.

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Polish-Americans have a rich cultural history of language, food, and religious and social customs. Pushed around for hundreds of years in Europe, many of them came to the United States as teenagers. They worked in the steel mills, mines, and slaughterhouses outside Chicago and in the industrial North, and took farmland no one wanted. The original Polish-American dream was to make money in the United States and go back to buy land in Poland. Some returned to Poland as many as three or four times; many returned there to stay. The first Polish organization in the United States, the Polish National Alliance, was founded 1890.

While cinema remains indifferent to them, Television, as seen in its programming, positively hates Poles, and offering a regular tribute of ridicule.[30] TV's borscht belt standup comics planted the Polish Joke in the American cultural landscape, and the Polish Joke has been nourished there ever since. The emotional blackmail that claims all Poles are forever responsible for the operation of death camps in World War II is an ever-present propaganda tactic to keep Polish-American people politically silent with respect to U.S. involvement with Israel.

When ethnic Polish- and German-Americans are persuaded to view themselves as socially inferior, they can more easily be directed into the purchase of any idea or action that promises relief from their media-inspired guilt.

Other Social and Ethnic Groups

We know the Irish; we grew up with the Kennedys, O'Sheas, and leprechauns. Irish pubs do a fine business in Guinness stout and Bass ale. All around the country, Celtic music festivals follow closely on St. Patrick's Day. Irish-Americans are on television and in the movies as the cops, the sports figures, and the drunken neighbors of Middle America. Italian-Americans are also quite visible on the U.S. scene. Little Italy is a phenomenon in major cities across the country. On television, Italian-American imagery is often used to typify blue-collar workers. In the movies, they are gangsters with fine clothes and fancy cars, sobbing to opera music while slicing off an enemy's fingers. They don't get any respect, and they all seem to talk funny.

To ride the curve from the most prominent ethnic images in the U.S. media to the images that are least visible, we cascade through portrayals of stupid Chinese bound by superstition and ritual, nearsighted Swedes who lilt along in an exaggerated ridiculous accent, spiritually misguided native Americans, Mexican dust-eaters, and other negative smatterings of ethnic diversity.

Among the hundreds of other groups spied upon by Bullock, noted earlier, were the National Indian Treaty Council, Greenpeace, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Centro Legal de la Raza, and the American Civil Liberties Union. A half dozen American Jewish and Israeli groups also received his attention, but they were exclusively

peace groups on the fringes of the Israel propaganda line and operating independently from the military-controlled mainstream propaganda. There were also files on twenty Bay area labor unions, plus the San Francisco Central Labor Council, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Boycott Shell Committee, the Green Giant Frozen Food Workers Committee, and the San Francisco chapter of the Committee for Labor Union Women.

French imagery in the media remains contained to fringe and foreign cinema and the occasional cartoon, as Pepe LePew, the skunk. The French are depicted in the U.S. media as chefs, perfume-sniffing effeminates, and vain winos with body odor. Only heroic French Jews receive serious media attention.

Raymond and Lucy Aubrac, known as active resistors to occupied France, were French Jews. He was an active resister, she his "spouse and confederate." She has written a memoir retelling Raymond's adventure, and it was turned into a movie around the same time a book was published that debunked the Aubrac tale and legend. As it turns out, the Aubracs were engaged in passing information to the Nazis as a condition to their emigration. French literature is being stocked full of books by historians eager to tell of French internment camps and Jews made ready for their last train ride to Auschwitz.

Education

Not much has been said about the political silence of the intellectual community on U.S. campuses. The well-known relationship between analytical ability and common sense that is common to any intelligent discussion is missing in the available intellectual expressions of attitude toward Israel. An enormous disparity exists between the issues of domestic society that find debate on campuses, and the related issues on the international stage.

The process and value of education is to sharpen individual intelligence by practicing larger and more complex challenges, so that the resulting intelligence is able to comprehend the complexity of moral issues in society and exert a great deal of corresponding moral responsibility. Education is both the process and the mechanism for indoctrination of any sort, be it learning about heroes, flags, guns, or violence. Israeli

efforts against Americans in this instance equate to the distribution of World War II photos of the dead to indoctrinate grade school children with disgust for Germans, and to shock and intimidate them with revised versions of history. The school systems have become organized distribution centers for a revised history of recent and past events in the human condition. Should the history of World War II be taught as the Holocaust war, where "more Jews died" than anyone else?

The ability to memorize is often confused with the ability to think. When the ability to memorize becomes the primary measure and sole depth of the meaning of intelligence, intellectual mediocrity is rewarded. Educational institutions are not sanctuaries from propaganda; rather, they are targets of it and dissemination points for it.

Thomas Sowell refers to numerous social value indicators, such as sex education, drug education, and how they occupy a statistically measurable portion of the communications spectrum, especially in school networks across the country: "Instead of educating the intellect, these special curriculum programs condition the emotions."[31] His description of brainwashing methods is an animated match to the institutional and marketing-driven research into the exploitable personality characteristics of the mass audience; it correlates with Doob's propaganda techniques, and also with current thinking and research into the psychology of human motivation. The emotional stress techniques, used to shock or desensitize, are used to break down, as a first step, ideas in the existing commonly held social network. Brainwashing implies a political referent, and a more neutral or objective term might be "persuasion methodology."[32] Television and cinema maliciously apply the initial pressure using these variables to break down existing social and emotional barriers, and pre-existing emotional anchors, and to produce one's own hypnotic focus on emotion and intellect.[33]

We do expect schools to modify our children's social behavior. However, we also wonder about the orchestrated effort to place anti-Semitism, as defined by the ADL, into the agendas of the public schools.[34] The Holocaust even becomes "a learning experience for teachers."[35] Day-long workshops on the subject are often required for professional certifications in the professions. This conspiratorial technique allows the conspirator to use domestic funds to Israel's advantage. The propaganda is prepared and

distributed with taxpayer money using public information distribution networks.

In elementary schools, World War II films of concentration camps traumatize and stigmatize the students. Even in an instructive atmosphere that claims to value the students' self-worth and dignity, it destroys these very characteristics in the German- and Polish-American. The propaganda themes inculcate themes of poor helpless Jews killed by monster German Nazis without mention of the death and suffering of countless other groups during the war. The Israeli theme of "we will never forget" is forced upon ethnic groups in the sense that they will never be allowed to forget the crimes of their ancestors or relatives.

In the 1960s, the need to control dissent in the schools became the government's primary lesson learned. Controlling organizations and publications is a first step in what has become known as mind control, a propaganda concept. We saw earlier how television had become a preschool educational learning experience, teaching children to be comfortable with depictions of violence. Meanwhile, grades 1–12 receive highly dogmatic films of World War II concentration camps. The National Education Association promotes the book *Heritage—Civilization and the Jews* as required reading at all levels of public education.

In schools and universities, people believe they are being told the truth, and a politically correct and successful student will memorize the truth. The way it works, with rare exceptions, is that candidates cannot make it through institutions of higher education unless they have accepted the indoctrination. Others are weeded out along the way at checkpoints, such as tests, essays, and academic opportunities. Independent thinking is encouraged in the sciences, but discouraged in journalism, academics, teaching, and public relations. Thinkers are clearly recognizable and are weeded out as radical or suffering from behavioral disorders. The process of elimination doesn't have to work 100 percent of the time; in fact, it's even better for the system if there are a few exceptions here and there. It gives the illusion of debate or freedom.[36]

Careers of social prominence, such as doctors and lawyers, are

controlled by the very people who are allowed to participate in them. Careers of influence, such as journalists and university professors, are also highly controlled positions.

Problems with the Educational Testing System

Consider SAT tests as ethnic testing. Creating and controlling the institutions used by higher education to make determinations of acceptance for specific college disciplines, that is, the Educational Testing System (ETS), effectively results in control of the people who become active in those professions. These tests also serve to create associations in the minds of those people taking those tests and who don't get the grades they expected based on prior performance, pride, motivation, and initiative.

Weighting of SAT test scores is accomplished at the level of the test question. For example, question Q1 points to an array of values for each multiple choice (A–E). In this sense, for Q1, whites get it right if they choose only A, while Hispanics may choose A or B to get the question scored as correct. Many techniques exist for changing the test and judging merit: dangling and misplaced modifiers in test questions can refer to either or both noun clauses in a sentence. Noun clauses can both be correct, but the test for one group can justify only one answer as correct, the test for a second group can justify only the second answer as correct, and the test for the third group can get either answer as correct. Control of this kind of test manipulation is only workable when the target test group is physically separated from the general testing population. It is therefore not really surprising that Jewish-Americans have higher test scores than other tested groups—they are the only significant group to be tested separately, on Sundays instead of Saturdays, when the rest of the testing population is tested.

Historical Revisionism

One of the most significant debates on college campuses occurs in history departments, where the notion of historical revisionism has gained some notoriety. The essential question is whether the victors in any controversy have the right to prepare their own, and only their own, version of history for historical record. Among the discussions

are questions about the complete history of the North American continent, taught in the schools to be devoid of civilization before the arrival of Columbus and the Europeans. Archeological discoveries that have contributed significant findings about native American tribes find their way into print in archeological and sociological journals, but do not seem able to alter the orthodox view of U.S. history. The history that is taught in schools remains slanted and reflects only the history of European influence. This codification of history into myth dampens research into the contributions of other cultures on the U.S. experience.

Currently the most prominent example of historical revisionism that exists today, on or off campus in the United States and around the world, involves the understanding and treatment of European Jews at the hands of Nazi Germany during World War II. The primary focus of the debate revolves around the claim of "6 million Jews" who died during the war. This figure has metamorphosed into "6 million Jews killed in concentration camps," a completely unverifiable claim. While it is true that as many as that may have been killed in various ways during the war (and even this is unverifiable), the sensationalized assertion that all Jews who died were killed in camps is patently false. Researchers have noted that the claims made by Israel's propaganda machine to promote blame and guilt and the resulting sympathy simply don't correspond with historical events. Non-Jews who were killed during the war and in concentration camps are routinely not counted. And whether 6 individuals or 6 million died and whether they were Jews or non-Jews, the death and suffering of all these people made it a horrible war and a human holocaust.

The Institute for Historical Review (IHR) attempts to do no more than augment wildly sensationalist historical orthodoxy in mainstream media. IHR writers continue with their own tradition of historical revisionism, which claims that World War II internment camps were not the horrific places that the media claim them to have been.[37] To this end, they shed light on suppressed information and provide key insights into World War II history. Certainly the best-known and most controversial aspect of their work has been its critical analysis of the Holocaust issue. They have published detailed books and essays that call into question the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. The IHR does not deny the extent of Jewish

suffering, but it does present strong evidence to demonstrate that much of what the media and the education system portray about the Holocaust is exaggerated.[38]

No subject enrages campuses' organized Zionist thought police more than Holocaust revisionism. These groups seek to curtail open discussion of vital historical issues and to grossly misrepresent their work and purpose. Prominent among the attackers are the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the ADL, both stridently partisan organizations with well-documented records as staunch apologists for narrow Israeli interests.

The Israeli lobby wields control over historical revisionism through federal education system programs. Such control will further erode educational opportunities and values. The lobby claims that it is "structurally integrated" into the education system, meaning that it has systematically attempted and largely succeeded in placing people in strategic positions throughout the major universities and education systems across the United States. Most still consider distributed control to be an arduous task, but an extra network structure and the mass media are organized to support the effort.

The value of these people is that they become gateways, gatekeepers of the education system. They attempt to screen so that more people with sympathetic Israeli views and people who are sympathetic to Israel gain admission and promotion. In other words, they attempt to put people in positions where they can act as gatekeepers for determining who is allowed to be in a "position of influence" in society. Federal programs determine who gets the doctorates, the grants, the awards from organizations, because doctorate holders are the people who have wide-ranging influence at the university level, over a long period, who will be doctors, lawyers, and faculty members.

Let us not forget in this context the Jewish-American predominance in the Washington academic institutions. In stark contrast to ethnically normalized federal institutions, at the National Institutes of Health the percentage of Jewish-American researchers is much higher than their relative percentage in the population. Especially in the fields of security and science, the film industry, art, and literature, the Jewish-American influence can only be described as immense, with a corresponding enhancement of Israel's power in U.S. education institutions.

Conclusion

In an *American Family Association Journal* (1993) entitled "What Is Happening to Our Schools?" the following advice was given to families on how to control educational curricula:

1. Be educated about the processes for curriculum selection, textbook evaluation, adoption and use of audiovisual gift films.
2. Know the processes in both the local school district and at the state level.
3. Find others in the community to share your concerns. Friends and neighbors, schools, churches, social clubs, and other organizations.
4. Groups should plan actions consistent with group strategies and goals.
5. Keep the group visible.

These are simple techniques of network creation, yet they are powerful and effective. The American Family Association (AFA) and its leadership have come under scrutiny and attack for their efforts and views.

U.S. universities have moved away from the liberal arts ideals of the early twentieth century, when the goal was an autonomous, spirited, critical, intellectual perspective. Education was considered a path to a full, rich, life with more meaningful experiences. Students were expected to comprehend relative modes of thought and evaluation, and the emphasis was on learning to think critically, rather than on learning what to think. Students are now exhaustively propagandized, taught to fit into perceived contemporary realities and to adapt, adjust, and accept conventional wisdom of the moment. Great emphasis is placed on vocational fantasies about high-paid employment.[39]

A palpable phenomenon has pervaded U.S. university campuses: value-oriented discussions have receded from view. When they do appear, they are discouraged or subtly punished. The politically correct position that every point of view is "valid in its own way" has led to the mass-mediated dogma that every cultural production is on the same footing with every other. This is how the media play out cultural

socialism in the name of tolerance. The effort has led to a widespread decay of "values" and standards of behavior. The greatest tragedy is the loss of imagination and the lack of promotion of real intellect.

The Postmodernist movement in the arts has identified a social condition called "post modern," and has attempted to adapt to it and express it. It is a largely negative and pessimistic movement that "rejects the modernist ideals of progress, virility, rationality, coherence, the purity and unity of artistic form, artistic genius, psychic integrity, individualism, and the ideal of the enlightened state."[40] The artistic and intellectual output of postmodernism displays "contempt for traditional morality, its commitment to disorder and radical egalitarianism, and its unstated distrust of democracy." It fosters political correctness, "the attempt to purge dissenting opinion from the ranks from the academic and professional fields," and to "promote the systematic attack on excellence in all fields."[41]

What this has left U.S. political think tanks with, then, is a not very subtle pro-Israel bias on most campuses. Edward Said, in *Covering Islam*, notes that there are no U.S. Orientalists of any breadth in the universities, and as a result, there is no longer in the State Department a serious group of Arabists.[42,43]

The intellectual regulation of discourse about distant and alien cultures positively and affirmatively encourages more of itself. In studies on Middle Eastern university courses, center directors who were interviewed frequently mentioned incidents involving organized political pressure, which was often of off-campus origin, to prevent or discredit Arab-connected activities that were regarded as academically legitimate and desirable. Arab cultural events, film showings, visiting speakers, acceptance of Arab budgetary support funds—anything could become a target.[44]

Few of the U.S. Foreign Service or State Department representatives to Arab countries are from the second and third Arab-American generations. Most of the U.S. diplomatic representatives to Israel from the United States are first- and second-generation Jewish-Americans. This is not a trend, but rather an effect of the conspiracy:

> What will happen is that you'll be marginalized, excluded. Instead of becoming part of the privileged elite, you'll be driving a taxi cab. It's not torture, but very few people are going to select that option, if they have a choice. And the ones who do select it will never be heard from again. Therefore they are not part of the indoctrination system. They don't make it. It could be worse, but it's enough to discipline people.[45]

[1] Key 1993, p. 195.
[2] Ellul 1973, p. 39.
[3] Francis 1994, pp. 8–9.
[4] Subject: Superior Jewish Intelligence. Date: 2 May 1995 22:33:58 -0400 Organization: America Online, Inc. (1-800-827-6364). Lines: 9 Sender: root@newsbf02.news.aol.com. Message-ID: <3o6q2m$a5q@newsbf02.news.aol.com>. Reply-To: ivanpv@aol.com (IVANPV) NNTP-Posting-Host: newsbf02.mail.aol.com.
[5] Rolnick 1997, p. C1.
[6] Irwin Suall was chief ADL sypmaster at the time, circa 1992.
[7] Blankfort 1995.
[8] Blankfort 1995.
[9] Marshall 1994, p. 21.
[10] Blitzer 1989, p. 162.
[11] Chaim Weizmann, Zionist Leader, on August 29, 1897, at the First Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland.
[12] See the description of their activities and results in Friedman 1989.
[13] Cholden-Brown 1994, pp. 100-106.
[14] A Stephen Spielberg movie. Spielberg was even able to get a $1 million donation from the federal government for his efforts.
[15] Blitzer 1989, p. 163.
[16] Anti-Arab racism, which is rampant in the United States, is the last legitimate form of racism (Chomsky 1992, p. 54).
[17] See Findley 1989.
[18] Branigin 1997, p. A03.
[19] See, for example, Rollenhagen 1995, page B1.
[20] Johnson 1994, p. 6.
[21] Cohen is typical of the syndicated columnists in the Washington Post Writers Group, a notorious collection of almost exclusively American Jewish pro-Israel jingoes. See, for example, Cohen 1990a, p. D3. Viciously racist, Cohen writes that "the true French art is hypocrisy," because of France's accommodation of Arab interests (see Cohen 1990b, p. D3, another syndicated Op-Ed piece by Cohen).

[22] For a description of racist Southern stereotypes from movies, and documentation of oppression of the South through media imagery, see Reed 1995, pp. 25–27.

[23] See, for example, Kleiman (1989, p. B5), which features a large picture of Bennie Banks, the African-American chef at Giuseppe Goldberg's restaurant in Miami Beach.

[24] See Rosenthal 1990, p. D3. In other articles Rosenthal, an editor for the *New York Times* and therefore disqualified from presenting a valid "Op-Ed" opinion, actually quotes himself as the authority on anti-Semitism (see Rosenthal 1989, p. A19).

[25] Distribution: clari.reuters. Subject: German Catholic group condemns Auschwitz dispute. Copyright: 1995 by R. Reuters. Message-ID: <XRgermany-auschwitzUR93a_5JH@clarinet.com>. Date: Tue, 17 Jan 95 8:50:42 PST. Expires: Tue, 24 Jan 95 8:50:42 PST. ACategory: international. Slugword: GERMANY-AUSCHWITZ. Priority: Major.

[26] Fry 1967.

[27] Burlingham 1938.

[28] See Adams 1997 for the now-classic print media juxtaposition of articles about Jewish Holocaust survivors with articles about demented Catholics.

[29] Hegi 1997.

[30] Through programs such as *Married with Children*, a sitcom with negligible audience viewing statistics, which nonetheless remained on the air for more than eight years. It is a crude and demeaning depiction of a Polish-American family.

[31] Sowell 1993 (p. 36 *et seq.*), in chapter 3, "Classroom Brainwashing," and chapter 8, "Teaching and Preaching."

[32] He uses the term "social engineering" later in the book (chapter 8).

[33] Anthony Robbins presents audio and videotaped lectures with these "self-improvement" or self-hypnotic techniques. It is a remnant of behaviorist psychology in present-day marketing strategies.

[34] Comiteau 1992, p. 1.

[35] See Plank 1990, p. B3 (Northwest section).

[36] Chomsky 1992.

[37] Analytical historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, Charles Tansill, Paul Rassinier, and William H. Chamberlin.

[38] Classics include *Falsehood in Wartime: Propaganda Lies of the First World War* (Arthur Ponsonby); *The Secret Team: The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World* (L. Fletcher Prouty); *Gruesome Harvest: The Allies' Postwar War against the German People* (R. F. Keeling).

[39] Key 1993, p. 116.

[40] Turner 1995. The excellent article is a critical book review for "In Defense of Elitism" by William A. Henry III, New York: Doubleday.

[41] Turner 1995.

[42] Said 1981, p. 16. As follows, Said describes that the study of Islam is not encouraged in the universities. What he does not see is those associating with Islamic-identified

organizations or Arab-identified social or cultural groups, or church rosters, becoming targets for the Maslow effect.

[43] See Ball and Ball 1992. George Ball was a brilliant senior American diplomat forced into obscurity because of his support for Arab grievances and philosophical positions.

[44] Said 1982, p. 147.

[45] Chomsky 1992, p. 76.

9. Conclusion

All across America, networked messages transmitted across radio and television air waves—and supported by syndicated newspaper services and book publishing and distribution monopolies, the religions and the schools—decry the loss of confidence that the electorate seems to feel for its officials and institutions. Newspaper front-page headlines chronicle precipitous declines in public trust of government intentions and resulting legislation.[1] First among those policies and legislation in the foreign policy debate concern Israel and the United States–Israel relationship. It crosses political boundaries and impacts public policy at the airport with expensive security apparatus, ethnic typing, terrorist justifications, and enormous expense to keep Americans from Israel's enemies. Schools dish out lopsided training, pedophile teachers, and deranged students with automatic weapons. Neighborhoods across the United States are threatened by stalkers and rapists. Israel's growing number of organized co-conspirators regularly plan intimidation, harassment, and squelches for any political or social figure who even remotely questions U.S. allegiance to Israel.

Israel is our all-time highest paid ally, and the legislation and media related to it comprise a textbook study of the kind of effort that has arrested social progress and shut down public trust. Critics of Israel's warlike offensive are commonly smeared:

> Anyone with experience in this area knows that defenders of the policies of recent Israeli governments explode at the merest breath of criticism. They shun no tactic to smear their opponents.[2]

Holocaust. Auschwitz. Soviet Jews. Israel. All of these ideas, paraphernalia that have come to symbolize the "Jewish problem," combine to contribute widespread support for a flawed idea in the Middle East. Support for Israel has had full unquestioned and unopposed support in U.S. media news and information channels for more than half of the twentieth century. Americans wonder why they are so war-weary and ready to capitulate to a tiny country whining

about its dead from fifty years ago. Christians preach forgiveness, and Jews preach never forgetting, and the two principles epitomize not only the complaints, but also the opportunities to move beyond them, to precede them with an understanding of the common good. Where religious and moral conflicts are inevitable, the media are inexcusable, as they issue a continuous stream of "in-your-face" insults.

The war leaves a legacy of social degeneration and destruction—murder and crime rates, the incidence of divorce and domestic violence all up, military morale low—so there is no reason why loyalties cannot also be split. Organized religion has lost its visual fascination to television and has remained mired in persuasive technique, adding no social relevance to its existence. It has made itself insignificant in the larger social issues, and that trend was magnified and somewhat enhanced through gatekeeping and agenda-related activities of the media. Racial tensions are constantly kept at a near-fever pitch and can be promoted for turmoil almost instantly.

Media

The role of the media in the global village has become crucial in the 20th century, and society cannot survive as it is without mass media. In particular, there is no sense in formulating a foreign policy in a democracy if the democratic process has no control over the means to propagate the policy to the electorate. Reporting local, national, and international news and the impact of consolidated news sources on news dissemination has become a major issue for the survival of democracy as we want to know it.

Media networks with national scope have taken upon themselves the responsibility of propagating sensational news from all corners of the nation, even the world, in order to bring to media consumers a mixture of fear, perversion, and grisly detail that is mostly irrelevant to the communities in which it is disseminated. They have brought drugs and crime problems out of the inner cities and glamorized them in the suburbs and rural towns.

The give-away of U.S. airwaves to a tiny few secretive media giants is viewed as abuse of a natural resource, in that it can be made into a federal tax revenue stream. It is also a security stream of information.

The role of syndicated journalists in national and international events must take on a character more like the armed forces: ethnically normalized to promote broad support and unbiased opinions. The role of local journalists becomes one of recognizing real news emphasis instead of reporting on pseudo-events.

Radio failed earlier to provide the benefits it promised as a result of allowing it practically free use of the airwaves. The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) and the American Public Radio Network (APRN) have become giant government-subsidized Israeli propaganda machines, spewing out related volumes of grist, angst, and other socially and emotionally irritating attitudes, while bypassing still the real issues of the host and surrounding communities. There remains need for a federal broadcast network, whose requirement is to carry neighborhood, metropolitan, regional, state, national, and international news at regular intervals throughout the day. Its international coverage must include declassified embassy reports , a metropolitan or city report to cover the mayor's and council members' activities and web links to city, county, state, and other audiences, and to officially represent government positions on issues at all levels and at open response forums. Face-to-face contact is not required, and so radio more than television is ideally suited to the task of presenting a government position. This position is supposed to be the gauge, the standard against which to compare commercial mass-mediated news. The Internet is changing the international political landscape, but by the end of the century, its presence had not yet really been felt. Demands on the individual from the new medium display significantly more sophisticated intellectual and social power than that of electronic nonliterates.

Television is the primary tool for distributing violence to promote dissention in all social groups, from family to government. Newscasts in the Washington, D.C., area, as insulting as they are to news viewers, are typical of the quality of news that Americans receive. On any given rainy day, for example, the news team will present a ten-minute "team coverage" of the rainstorm. They will utilize camera crews in different locations around the metropolitan area to videotape rain falling on sidewalks and streets, people walking with umbrellas, automobiles with windshield wipers in motion, and the like. The newscasters, dead

serious with concern; present related stories such as videotaped cuts of last week's rainstorm, to round out the story. It is almost comical to observe the attempt to insinuate public service from this kind of deliberately vacuous and absurd "news" coverage while the real social events of the day remain deliberately unreported, unobserved.

Television and cinema differ from the other media forms in their ability to go beyond defining violence. They don't merely report events, they re-enact, recreate, demonstrate violence. They invent and introduce new ways to commit violent acts, and provide much fodder for unsuspecting listeners to form negative associations, and promote copycat social activity. Handguns and weapons are the most heavily advertised products on television. As an agenda setter, television promotes ways that good guys, bad guys, and chicks can own and use handguns. Handguns and violence rule the airwaves. Americans, social creatures with interest in their immediate environment, have nothing substantial to think about, so in their spare time they watch football, game shows, and soap operas on television. The baseline social environment has been replaced.

Meanwhile, most of the real news required by the viewing audience remains unavailable. The many municipalities in the metropolitan area each have county supervisors, mayors, police chiefs, and congressmen, but the daily activities or agendas of these public servants are seldom considered newsworthy, and are widely unavailable in news reporting in any medium. Most coverage of officials and their activities portrays their apparent involvement in scandals unrelated to the jobs they were elected to do on a daily basis. Television, newspapers, and radio, icons of the fourth branch of government, have long ago forgone their social responsibility to present real news of interest to the viewing audience, preferring instead to argue that they are merely entertainment industries in business to make money. Even on popular Internet services such as America Online (AOL), thirty categories for member web pages in the 'hometown' of subscriber-built web pages do not include interest groups for local, national, or international politics.

Israel's organized influence of supporters in U.S. publishing encourages and promotes comparative biographies of Hitler and Saddam Hussein, and books that make arch-terrorists come to life in the reader's

imagination.[3] Additionally, they actively discourage and block book publishing that runs counter to the prescribed Israel propaganda themes. While no single name or person can be identified as responsible for the effort, the overall effect has for decades overwhelmed every possible opposing view, rendering such work almost impossible to promote, print, market, advertise, or distribute. U.S. literary agents as a group have for years refused to touch subject matter that contradicts Israeli propaganda, claiming that to attempt to do so would only damage their reputations with the big publishers. Nor will the shrinking list of established publishers take on such works themselves. The deception of a lack of opposition is so complete across mainstream media that newspaper and magazine editors also refrain from commenting on controversial material in part because they are never exposed to it.

Why, we might argue, do broadcasters insist upon and get free use of the airwaves? Reporting the daily workings of government are considered so boring as to be sudden death in media's self-rating game. As if to emphasize this point, there exists a congressional news broadcasting service that continuously broadcasts from the House of Representatives, and the result, as you might expect, is enormously dismal and boring. The tactic is a reaction to the threat of responsibility to summarize, on a regular basis, the workings of government with the same efficiency and enthusiasm as is paid to sports, or to tag-team news coverage of rainstorms.

The U.S. media have become transformed, homogenized, and agglutinated in a way that only centralized control can produce. The time has come to question the purpose of that control, the directions in which it is leading the mass-mediated society, and the relationships to our strangely unchallenged foreign policy agenda.

At this time, media conglomeration continues unquestioned and for the most part not seriously opposed by any members of Congress. In the closing months of 1999, Viacom, corporate parent of MTV and Nickelodeon, bought the descendant of the CBS broadcasting network. Viacom owned movie-making studios (Paramount) and video distribution networks, broadcast stations and networks, niche entertainment providers, MTV, VH1, pay-per-movie channels, movie theaters, video and book stores, and amusement parks. Disney bought

ABC, which makes Disney an owner of television channels, and television and radio stations, and which gives it partnerships with telephone companies, film and music studios, book publishing houses, and producers of consumer products. Now Disney also includes the ABC television network, with news, sports, entertainment, daytime and children's programming, cable and international broadcast groups, dozens more television stations, interactive and pay-per-view services, seven daily and 75 weekly newspapers, shopping guides, real estate magazines, more than 55 specialized magazine publications, financial services, and a medical group.[4]

America Online members represent the largest community in cyberspace. Together with other services it now owns—AOL Instant Messenger, CompuServe, Digital City, ICQ, Moviefone, Netscape, Spinner, and Winamp—they are already in a position to control the mass-mediated expression of millions of people's lives in every corner of the world who were not able to provide feedback to centralized radio and television. Their membership numbers 20 million at the end of 1999. Time-Warner is the world's number one media and entertainment company—with an unsurpassed range of household name brands ranging from CNN and HBO to *Time*, *People*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Fortune*, *Entertainment Weekly*, and *Looney Tunes*; from Warner Brothers and New Line Cinema to Warner Music Group labels and the Turner entertainment networks. Their cable connections already criss-cross the country, supplying an estimated 100 million or more than 20 percent of U.S. households with the infrastructure for faster Internet connections and a greater range of online services. Together, AOL and Time-Warner will create a company on the cutting edge of mass communication technology, with an unprecedented ability to drive global commerce and national public opinion. Once they are able to control inbound information by simply ignoring it, the establishment media will be extending control over use of the Internet.

Government

> If the US Congress had been hired by a gang of international conspirators to foul up the US's foreign policy, they could scarcely have been more successful.[5]

Yet in the media we find a deliberate trend to foster hostility between Catholics and Jews coupled with political agendas. Syndicated columnists regularly lampoon political figures who contest Israeli manipulations, sparse as these politicians are.[6] The adverse characterizations are built by grafting the regularly distributed imagery of Nazi-hate-intolerance-Holocaust propaganda to capture the listener in a nonpolitical frame of reference, and applying the image of the politician. Cartoons caricature afflicted politicians in Nazi SS uniforms and jack boots, and as a cadre of writers supports the visual image with phraseology suggestive of intolerance and that the person be viewed with alarm. Other metaphors are mixed and applied very carefully. This kind of image transference is an ancient political technique, but its effect in the mass media has been much greater than expected.

When the U.S. Air Force developed its very first target list to attack in Iraq, Baghdad's main television station was a number one priority. Iraqi propaganda effort directed against military forces in Saudi Arabia and against Iraq's Arab neighbors was also destroyed as a first-priority target.[7]

Radio and television are considered military instruments of propaganda and repression, and a legitimate target in the U.S. military campaigns against Iraq and Yugoslavia in the 1990s. What became clear to military planners was that it would take more than a few well-placed bombs to get government radio and television stations off the air.

War, the contest of wills, must diminish an adversary's will to continue fighting. It is directly influenced to the information flow through the mass media to the population. Military agents attempt to use the media as a gun, firing psychological operations, deception efforts, spin control, censorship, and various forms of coercion and alienation into the audience. Unified military policy increasingly seeks to integrate mass-mediated warfare into an organized information campaign.

Israel is not the only country to understand and manipulate the significance of the U.S. mass media. China also ponders the new rules of "unrestricted war" and determines similar policies.[8] In its attempt to build a new strategy to right the balance of power, China, a relatively weak country, is developing a strategy that will allow it to stand up to

the United States: The techniques for dealing with a powerful adversary include terrorism, drug trafficking, environmental degradation, computer virus propagation, espionage, bribery, and coercion. China has identified more than "...24 different types of war and argues that the more complicated the combination—for example, terrorism plus a media war plus a financial war—the better the results." From that perspective, "Unrestricted War" (Pomfret 1999) marries the Chinese classic, "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu, with modern military technology and economic globalization.[9]

Jewish Americans who hold traditional religious beliefs are unable to morally or spiritually justify the actions of Israel. They have subsequently fallen away from ritual and ceremony and prefer to be recognized as mainstream Americans. They are characterized by silence, suppressed intelligence, and are not privy to the inner network of connections within the U.S. media. The highest levels of the political structure of Israel have voiced concern that this group is growing large in the United States, and represent the dissenters to the state-funded and supervised political indoctrination.

Homosexuality, the mass-mediated movement, attempts to acquire acceptance as a race, a minority with privileges. The media portray homosexuals as advocates of a chosen lifestyle, and does not focus on the incidence of causal abuse. The HIV/AIDs appeals are made with great energy, but fail to mention protection from the main transmission route for the disease. Gay and lesbian advocates claim that their wildly well-known political power is due to their ability to organize. Many groups as well or better organized receive no such attention from media, and some groups no larger than two organizers get enormous media attention. The popularity of homosexuality in the media is out of proportion to its popularity in society.

Similar mass-mediated image controls are in place for other social movements. Television mediated the women's movement and managed the image as far from mainstream American women as they could possible devise. The movement became populated with lesbians leading the charge for women to become male-independent and arrogant, and to race off on touchy-feely, sex-related issues. Feminism's interesting and colorful image, media-reinforced to support lesbianism,

actually represents very few women. Its power and clout derive from the attention given to it by the media, not from its grassroots appeal to the electorate. Alternative or even more commonly mainstream women's groups simply don't get media coverage. The active images in the media represent almost no one, while the bulk of the electorate, the mass audience, the taxpayers, sit quietly unrepresented.

In the politics of perversion, gay power is an insignificant sociosexual aberration—usually precipitated by early trauma—that gets regular national media coverage. The movement is representative of one of the media's new commandments, its morality, and opposes traditional values and religious and social taboos. Whether or not it is media's place to steer and determine social value is a question better left for other disciplines to analyze.

A huge moral schism exists within Judaism which very clearly divides the religious community between the American Jews, who prefer to think of Israel as their homeland and primary allegiance, and Jewish Americans who want to support Israel but are still morally unable to accept the theft, carnage, and brutality of Israel to the Palestinians, Arabs, and Americans. Those whose religious beliefs have become overshadowed by the politics of Israel are thereby empowered to be blind to the contradictions between their religious beliefs and the malicious and brutal nature of the Jewish state. Moreover, this is the group who are encouraged to ignore the meaning of American values and beliefs, and to think of themselves as separate citizens living within a hostile United States. They are the ones who profess to feel the plight of the homeless Jew, yet solve their problem by forcing others into homelessness; the ones who bleed for the plight of murderers on death row, and cheer for the deaths of Arabs.

****

Intellectual activity is peculiar to the human race, and all the opportunities it brings spring from a belief in the goodness of the purpose of humanity, not from belief in the goodness of an ideology. Ideologies, as formulations designed to put forward a method to advance the human condition, are and always have been susceptible to perversion from competing intents. The ideology of communism,

noble in its primary documents (the purity of the idea inversely proportional to its age) was pitted against capitalism, noble in its original intent too. The true intellectual can separate pure ideology from derivative dogma. To fail to make this critical separation leads the intellectual to philosophic hedonism, a joy ride along an increasingly narrowly defined path to a rigid and corrupted destination. The true intellectual must be an environmentalist, because environmentalism promotes the philosophy of harmony of humans with the environment. Any less quickly attaches the individual to rigid ideology.

There are two models for the continuation of the current situation. One is to break up the Israel lobby and its influence in the United States. The major problem here involves Israel's Jewish backlash in the United States, which will provide impetus for the destruction of freedoms and the imposition of a more clearly imperialist regime. The other model points out that other nations will use the same Israel model to influence U.S. politics unless the method is arrested.

All of this is true if in fact Israel is as responsible for the scale of corruption in U.S. politics as it appears.

> [Perhaps t]he real reason for U.S. opposition to Iraqi occupation of Kuwait is not to keep oil prices low, but to keep Washington, Wall Street, and their allies in charge of setting oil prices. We are fighting to maintain and even enlarge one of our few continuing claims to international economic clout: control of oil prices. The Bush administration and the *New York Times* alike view the Mideast as an extension of Texas. It is "our oil," not theirs. The U.S. oil posture is not a sober defense of countries dependent on oil. It is a greedy offensive that pursues U.S. oil advantage. Most countries, particularly Third World countries, suffer horribly for these policies.[10]

Are the oil companies using Israel as a permanently anchored aircraft carrier in the Middle East to protect their interests from the Atlantic-Mediterranean side? Is it they who continually stir the pot and add

confounding ingredients to the weary story of promise and deceit in that part of the world?

Those who think that by hastening Armageddon, as they have come to describe it, will hasten their chances of gambling their fate at the hands of their God. But as surely as those who become prophets were unaware of their major calling, those who would count themselves as holy enough to survive the tribulations in which they believe are merely shooting craps with fate, with their own destinies, and with the destiny of humans.

One must wonder about the phenomenon of rationality in man. On one hand, praise is paid to a god for this marvel of our existence. On the other hand, the effort of rational thought is set aside as false cures promote false hopes, and humankind blunders along, no wiser for the lessons of history. To believe in the end of the world as part of a religious belief is to willingly become a spiritual zombie. If, despite all the teachings common to all religions, the driving thought is to passively accept destruction at the hands of what appears as a progressively meaner and more evil world, is to miss the whole point of religion. Fate and the human condition are not commodities to be bought, sold, or traded. The fate of humans can no more be determined from the Bible or any other religious work than the reading of three sentences of a novel can describe the full detailed meaning of the book. To think so is to think of fate as a single-track commodity. The message of the Bible was not meant to record the only path of future events: it was meant to show the true path of human happiness and the kinds of consequences that could befall a people out of touch with their God, truth, inner selves, and social consciousness.

We must then be suspicious of the politicians and preachers who tell us to peacefully await Armageddon. They are in effect saying "give up, don't try, just be good and be quiet." They give little air time to the propagation of what is good, because, they claim, the good need merely to sit quietly until the rapture. Peace, however, is not a passive process for the rational and imaginative human being. Peace, and the boundless fruits of peace, must be continually constructed and maintained. Waiting for death in the robustness of life is not an attribute that builds peace. Allowing death and destruction, quietly and happily

financing it, in the vainglorious hope that the final Day of Judgment will be hastened, is to obey three sentences in the Bible and ignore the rest of it, while playing roulette with fictitious beliefs based on a demented understanding of God and good and justice and right.

The message to those contemplating the value of loyalty as a social rather than moral decision and giving it therefore less true value, is that no one gets away with anything. No ethnic group is more embarrassed by the crass old-world hatred that the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., represents than the Jewish American. Cut off from ethnic social and cultural resources if they fail to accept the new religion of Israel, but intellectually and morally unable to forgo their American heritage and experience, the dwindling and defenseless group joins the Arab, German, and Polish Americans on the front line of defining, once and for all, the meaning and value of our uniquely American multiethnic society.

Mass Society and Common Social Consciousness

Israel holds no moral position that can be democratically supported in U.S. politics, yet U.S. politics supports Israel. This curious fact perpetuates an idea of the rules and commandments of gods and prophets, kings and tycoons, and points to the evolution of a common rule set for common consciousness. Humans have involuntary, sensual, and intellectual thought patterns (first, second, and third brains, respectively; also called "I'm hungry," "I like it," and "it's good for me"). Humans' third brain and the ability to perform higher reasoning, is also the repository of the social consciousness. The basic rules of social consciousness must be followed for the individual to truly experience the effects and benefits of the phenomenon.

The "never-forget and anger" premise is fundamentally at odds with the Christian "turn the other cheek" forgiveness characteristic. This is one of the major areas where the social intelligence required for forgiveness indicates much more intellectual and social power than the sensory-level anger nourished in never-forgetting. Christianity's message, when abstracted to its social-psychological root, is that the virtues of love, compassion, and so forth that are most singularly prominent in the belief, are clearly an advanced set of the laws of

social interaction. To survive, the human individual must evolve to naturally believe in and support the common good, the good of all over the wishes of the few. Most Jews who believe strongly in the power of the mass consciousness are acutely aware of the enormous disparity between what is proper thinking in the mass social rules and the corruption of U.S. political institutions in support of Israel. It gives them an aura that makes them appear sinister, ill-at-ease in public, and alien. Which offers the possibility of another "Holocaust"

But again, politics is not the only victim. Politicized Judaism reverts to the lower-level, or second-brain, functions as "pure" Judaic thinking, and labels Jews who practice the mass social concept of forgiveness as "closet Christians." The concept, although described and debated in religions, is really a higher social concept, a rule of common social consciousness. They use the imagery of the American cultural belief set to portray an honest and positive basis for their aspirations—quite a different approach from the narrow-minded old-world hatred promoted by the new Zionists through a militarily controlled Judaism.

In his last State of the Union message to Congress, President Clinton stressed health care reform, campaign reform, and raising the minimum wage. He took credit for the results of a new study that projected that his current budget would eliminate the national debt in 13 years instead of the 20 or so years stated in earlier projections. His deficit reduction act, he claimed, unleashed an unprecedented productivity boom. He saluted his cronies: the vice president, Willie Mays, and his wife, and then laid out a complex rationale to reform the Social Security and Medicare programs, a confused and practically unintelligibly dense logic for a vague, marginal result. He discussed a Medicare tax credit (at $16 billion per year, the largest program addressed in dollars in his speech), which included prescription drug support, income tax reform, and long-term care programs.

Progressing in textbook style across a democratic platform, he discussed earned income credits, student loans, equal pay for equal work for women, childcare reform, retirement savings accounts, children growing up without a father, paying down the national debt, and gun laws (how the Senate "faced down" the gun lobby). Being a media star, he tied in a recent high school massacre, worried about

kids being killed by guns, promoted a voluntary rating system for Internet activities. He wanted to put kids back to work, and proposed a $1 billion plan for childcare to help 400,000 children. He wants $22 billion made available in private sector capital (no government commitment there), $110 million for new development in the Mississippi Delta, and a billion dollars for native American communities.

Clinton's vision included helping the farmers, closing the digital divide, and promoting trade, freedom, democracy, and peace. He cited reduction-of-arsenal agreements with Russia and promoted the entry of China into the World Trade Organization. He voiced concern for our interests in the Africa, Colombia, Cyprus, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, the Middle East, Nigeria, North Korea, Pakistan, and Timor, and for the armed forces in Kosovo, and paid a tribute to Americans in uniform.

He wants to reduce disease worldwide with a $150 million program and a tax credit for drug companies. He is afraid of narco-terrorists and small nuclear devices, and wants to ratify test ban treaties.

For Americans, he wants more livable and liberal communities to have improved mass transit, open spaces, a rejuvenation of the Great Lakes cities and waterways, warning of greenhouse effects and global warming, and he suggests tax incentives for energy-saving products from the automobile industry. He suggested that adding $3 billion to civilian research projects was—as he termed it—the largest in "a generation," while assuring an effort to fight genetic discrimination. His racial healing would help faith-based organizations, unwed teen mothers, and poor people with tax incentives that are "nothin' but fair." He still wants to teach civics and English in the schools, and wants an accurate census count of poor people to protect African, Asian, and Jewish children. He wants a hate crimes prevention act, an employment antidiscrimination act, and a violence against women act.

The one-hour and 29- minute speech ended with platitudes about the millenium, expressing gratitude and humility, progress and prosperity, and a bright horizon. Clinton's plea for a billion dollars from Congress for Project Head Start, calling this the "largest increase in the history of the program," was unmistakably partisan. Sums of money exposed

not by the actual cost of the program, but by the amount of a tax credit, is a financially vague number to most Americans.

The figure for the additional billions for Israel that is being bandied about as the cost American taxpayers must pay for a peaceful Israel seems to grow with the telling. In the mid- to late 1990s, the bill was routinely advertised at $10 billion.[11] By December 1999, the amount had reached $17–$18 billion, and as soon after as January 2000, just prior to Clinton's address, the "numbers leaped up to $65–$70 billion, and some even talked about $100 billion." Considering the enormous size of the request, and the sizes of various social programs under the axe, Israel's huge burden still passed along unnoticed. Israel is not our ally. They only appear that way to us in the very same media that support religious favoritism and blasphemy, political strangulation, and manipulations of society.

[1] For example, *Washington Post* page A1: "In America, Loss of Confidence Seeps Into All Institutions." Sunday January 28, 1996.

[2] Alexander Cockburn, "Critic of Israeli Policies replies to smear in The Times," special to *The Seattle Times*, December 13, 1989 "Op-Ed" page.

[3] See, for example, *The New Jackals: Ramzi Yousef, Osama Bin Laden, and the Future of Terrorism.* By Simon Reeve. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1999, or Yossef Bodansky's *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America.* Roclin, Calif: Forum 1999.

[4] The Washington Post, Wednesday September 8, 1999, page A7.

[5] Miller, William A. "Congress: Still Fumbling American Foreign Policy," an article in the bi-monthly publication *Washington International*, vol. 13, no. 4, July/August 1999, page 6.

[6] See for example "Columnist fosters hostility between Catholics, Jews," by Alan Dershowitz, copyright 1989 United Feature Syndicate Inc.

[7] By William M. Arkin, Special to washingtonpost.com , Monday, May 24, 1999.

[8] China Ponders New Rules of 'Unrestricted War' *By John Pomfret,* Washington Post Foreign Service, Sunday, August 8, 1999; Page A1.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Chomsky "Gulf Crisis Analysis," Published in Z Magazine, February 1991.

[11] Daniel Pipes, January 26, 2000, Washington Times. Daniel Pipes is director of the Philadelphia-based Middle East Forum.

September 11, 2001

The events of September 11, 2001, made a statement to Americans and to the world that is still reverberating through national and international political structures. The statement was especially powerful because it was made not with mass communication facilities or war machinery, but with commercial airplanes and buildings—everyday fixtures of modern life. The statement was as powerful and disturbing as a nuclear blast, because it was delivered by civilians giving their lives for their cause, not by military agencies wielding overpowering force directed by a government. The event pointed out the inability of the U.S. government to recognize or to control the effects of its foreign policy and showed that the United States is not exempt from massive retaliation or revenge. Americans got a foretaste of the kind of price they might expect to pay for their government's selective double standard in the application and enforcement of the rules of international social order established through the common elements of religious belief systems and politically codified by the United Nations.

On September 11, 2001, Americans also began to learn a few things about how the American political system works in the absence of their participation. They began to realize how foreign policy decisions ultimately affect their freedom and civil liberties. The new Department of Homeland Security has consolidated policing agencies to an extent hitherto unimaginable in a free, democratic society. Airport security measures, security alert indicators, alarming news events, and other Big Brother activities have become intrusive reminders of the new, heightened levels of everyday stress and uncertainty brought on by single-minded support for Israel.

The events of September 11 presented Americans with a dramatic and terrible challenge to overcome their lack of understanding of world events and to correct the duplicity in U.S. foreign policy decisions. The examples of duplicity could not be more painfully obvious than those between Iraq and Israel. Where the United States condemns Iraq for building and storing weapons of mass destruction, it turns a blind eye to Israel's nuclear, biological, and chemical arsenals. Claims that Iraq harbors and supports terrorism are dwarfed by Israel's mas-

sive campaign of state terror against Palestinians, Arabs, Christians, and Muslims. Claims that Iraq kills its own citizens are matched by the constantly rising toll of Palestinian civilian deaths in areas that Israel controls illegally. Where Iraq has militarily engaged two of its four neighbors, Israel has militarily engaged all four of its neighbors (not to mention its attacks on the United States (USS Liberty) and (bombing Iraq's nuclear facility). Where the United States attempts to impose war on Iraq for violating a specific U.N. resolution, Israel has violated and continues to violate numerous U.N. resolutions with impunity and with little or no rebuke from either the United Nations or the United States, even though these actions go against the principles upon which the United States was founded.

This double standard presents Israel—armed and supported by the United States—as a continuing antagonist to all the nations in the Middle East. Other examples are evident in the procedures related to the distribution of U.S. foreign aid. In 2002 the United States provided 157,000 tons of agricultural commodities to a starving North Korea, but the aid was manipulated so aggressively that North Korea removed itself from the agreements guaranteeing aid in exchange for abatement of its nuclear programs. Egypt's poverty-stricken population of 60 million receives foreign aid under heavy regulation and monitoring; Israel's affluent population of 4 million receives official and unofficial aid delivered with almost no conditions or oversight, in violation of U.S. foreign aid laws.

Adherence to the rules of international social order implied by membership in the United Nations relies on a common social understanding that elevates human rights over the material interests of religions and ideologies. When U.N. resolutions become prone to selective enforcement, the value of the international system is undermined. Who, for example, will dare to censure or punish the Americans and British because of their military action in Iraq, in which water treatment and distribution facilities—civilian targets—are deliberately bombed?

Because mainstream media fail to provide a complete picture of this damage, they shield politicians from responsibility for ill-conceived policies and hold American democratic principles hostage to the whims of foreign lobbyists. Nothing is more scarce than thorough, tough,

objective analysis from the media's Opinion Oligopoly, and nowhere is the force-feed of stereotypes more evident than in descriptions of American foreign policy related to Israel. Having cultivated financial influence over members of Congress and the executive office, Israel's long-term strategy has become a significant force in U.S. foreign policy. Israel uses this political influence to continue a trend of mass media concentration and control. For example, AIPAC, Israel's lobbying entity, is consistently ranked as the most influential foreign policy lobbying organization on Capitol Hill, where it has been working within Congress for more than 50 years to build a covert relationship between Israel's foreign policy goals and U.S. legislators. It claims to have 55,000 activists throughout the United States working to ensure U.S. financial support for Israel. Another example is the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington-based "think tank" that focuses its Middle East efforts on issues that promote pro-Israel policies to the Bush administration. The institute serves as the hub for a network of neo-conservative activists and groups, including the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), the Center for Security Policy (CSP), and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA). A review of their officers and contributors is instructive.

In the mass media, the right to dissent—a signature characteristic of democratic political activity—is now labeled as unproductive and distracting. College campuses are not described as intellectual centers, but instead as hotbeds of anti-American political activity. The attack on dissent has spilled over from traditional mainstream media onto the Internet, where the need to curtail free speech in universities nationwide was cited in a few elevated examples. In one, a student who made anti-Israel comments was condemned, and in another, an instructor who made an "unacceptable" comment about the Afghanistan campaign bombings was derided as un-American.

Mainstream media have been quick to label as unpatriotic not only criticism of the administration's military efforts, but also—and very specifically—criticism of Israel over all other foreign policy issues. Bill Maher, host of a late-night television show on the ABC television network called Politically Incorrect, became an instant nationwide example of the new limits of acceptable dissent and the new extent of

censorship. On one of his last shows, five days after the September 11 events, Maher and his guests were discussing the attack on the World Trade Center, and Maher suggested that suicide terrorists, whatever else they might have been labeled, were not cowards. Several ABC affiliates dropped the show in protest, and sponsors FedEx and Sears pulled their advertising. Executives with Disney (the parent company of ABC) subsequently cancelled the show. On September 26, Ari Fleischer, the president's press spokesman, responded to the comment by saying to "all Americans that they need to watch what they say, watch what they do. This is not a time for remarks like that; there never is." The new, restricted understanding of freedom of speech was now in place.

The common social attitude of Americans is expressed for them by their government and is expected to guide their actions at the local, national, and international levels of society. The basic laws of the enlightened American social consciousness are molded from common values derived from the country's religious and cultural history. Americans have begun to see where religious beliefs interface with the democratic process. They have also begun to notice that by allowing simplistic interpretations of biblical events to direct foreign policy, they ignore the exhortations and examples of the founding fathers to keep politics and religion separate. When network television's celebrity fundamentalist preachers, following a politicized, literal interpretation of the Bible, claim that American "Christians" stand in support of Israel's right to eject Palestinians from Israel, their statements are not only unrepresentative of Christian belief, but also fundamentally un-American.

We have a responsibility to ourselves and to the world to exercise our rights as citizens and to say to our politicians: this is not the path of a great nation.

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